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THE PEOPLE LOOK AT EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION, A REPORT ON AND FROM THE AUDIENCES OF EIGHT REPRESENTATIVE ETV STATIONS.
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THE PROBLEM OF THIS STUDY WAS TO FIND THE AUDIENCE OF EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION (ETV) AND TO STUDY IT IN DEPTH. THE AUDIENCES OF EIGHT ETV STATIONS - REPRESENTING THE PRINCIPAL TYPES OF OWNERSHIP, ALL SECTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, AND BOTH VHF AND UHF CHANNELS - WERE STUDIED AND ANALYZED. IN EACH OF THE TEST COMMUNITIES, SAMPLES WERE DRAWN FROM THE TELEPHONE BOOKS WITHIN THE COVERAGE AREA. OVER 20,000 TELEPHONE INTERVIEWS WERE COMPLETED. FROM THE INTERVIEWS, SUBSAMPLES WERE DRAWN IN EACH COMMUNITY. THESE CONTAINED ABOUT THREE ETV VIEWERS TO ONE NONVIEWER. HOME INTERVIEWS WERE COMPLETED WITH ABOUT 87 PERCENT OF THE DRAWN SAMPLE--TOTALING ABOUT 1,600 RESPONDENTS. THE ETV PROGRAM SCHEDULE AND STRUCTURE WERE ANALYZED FOR EACH OF THE STATIONS. INCLUDED IN THE REPORT ARE--AUDIENCE SIZES AND CHARACTERISTICS, THE TYPES OF PROGRAMS VIEWED, REASONS GIVEN FOR VIEWING, WHAT IS THOUGHT ABOUT ETV, AND A DISCUSSION ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FINDINGS. FINANCING AND PROGRAMING QUALITY WERE CONSIDERED THE CRITICAL FACTORS IN THE FUTURE GROWTH OF ETV. (JC)

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The People Look at Educational Television

A Report on and from the Audiences of Eight Representative ETV Stations

By Wilbur Schramm and Jack Lyle

with assistance, during the field study, from Howard Rowland, Merrill Samuelson, Howard Martin, W. Arthur Cullman, and Graydon Ausmus

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THE PEOPLE LOOK AT EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION

A Report on and from the Audiences of Eight Representative ETV Stations

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1. EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION -- WHAT IS IT?

Educational television is something of a paradox. Part of the greatest sales medium ever developed, it sells nothing. Part of a medium with unequalled ability to attract people to it, it programs for minority audiences. Part of a highly expensive medium which needs the support of more than a billion dollars of advertising money annually, it gets no advertising support and exists on Spartan budgets and a rickety financial structure of gifts and school money. Part of a great entertainment medium, it invites its audiences to come not for entertainment, but rather for work. It invites them, not to relax, but rather to stretch their minds in order to capture new ideas and information. And it hasn't a Western, a whodunit, or a domestic comedy anywhere in its schedule!

Part of the paradox is in the nature of television itself, which is not only a great entertainment device, but also a great educational medium. Some of the people who first experimented with it were educators.* But it was the entertainment side that drew audiences and support. There were already 200 commercial stations, supported by advertising, specializing in entertainment, before the first noncommercial educational station went on the air. The fact that it went on the air at all was a tribute to the farsightedness and toughness of a small group of educators who resolved that the teaching qualities of television should not be lost sight of in the great success of its entertainment qualities. They rallied educational interest and public support, got some channels reserved, raised money here and there, and slowly, haltingly, with all the mistakes of beginners, idealists, and inadequately financed operators, got the sound and sight of education on the air.

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*Experimental telecasts were made at the University of Iowa as early as 1932.

In this book we shall call it educational television, but what we are really talking about is noncommercial educational television. There is some magnificent educational material on commercial stations, although it bulks small in their total offerings. A national political convention is an educational experience as well as an absorbing, entertaining spectacle. The Kennedy-Nixon debates on the commercial networks had educational as well as persuasive effects. The best of the documentary programs and press conferences on commercial television stretch their viewers' minds. An occasional fine music or dramatic program on commercial television is presented with skill and talent hardly equalled elsewhere. All these are educational television. And some commercial stations even broadcast formal education; for example, the Continental Classroom, broadcast on a network, for several years was able to get half a million listeners out of bed at 6 a.m. to hear lectures on mathematics, physics, chemistry, and political science. No informed person would ever imply that there is no education in commercial television, but merely that it is a very small part of commercial television, and usually buried in the hours when few people are listening (like the 6 a.m. lectures or the Sunday afternoon press conferences). In this book, however, we are concerning ourselves not with this small segment of commercial television, but with the stations which are devoted wholly to educational purposes, which are not permitted to accept advertising or operate commercially, and which are licensed to nonprofit educational or civic organizations in order to serve the educational needs of their communities.

Ten years ago there was no such station. The first noncommercial educational station went on the air May 12, 1953. At the time of the research described in the following pages, there were 56 educational stations. As we write, there are 63. By the time this is published -- so fast are the stations growing -- there will probably be 70. Approximately one out of every ten stations in the United States is a noncommercial educational station, and the proportion is growing.

HOW ETV CAME TO BE

It is worth recalling how this movement started. Educational institutions and educators had used radio and films for a long time before television arrived. Nearly 200 schools, colleges, and universities had constructed radio stations in the 1920's. The University of Wisconsin had built and put on the air, beginning in 1917, one of the half-dozen stations which hold some claim to be called the "first" regularly programed voice radio station in America -- station 9XM, later re-licensed as WHA. The year 1929 was not kind to these educational radio stations, but 35 of them still stood even after that storm. Most of these were maintained by the Land Grant colleges and universities, and were used to help fulfill the obligation of these institutions to agricultural extension and off-campus education. The number of educational radio stations grew slowly through the 1930's and 1940's. As television came nearer to reality, there was much talk about the possibility of being able to transmit the kind of educational experienced offered by a talking film over the kind of carrier wave provided by radio. The Iowa State College (now Iowa State University) actually built and licensed a television station, supported by commercial advertising but offering a large amount of educational material along with selected programs from the networks.*

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*For a more complete account of the early history of educational television by one of the pioneers in the movement, see the chapter by Richard B. Hull, "A Note on the History behind ETV", in Educational Television: The Next

That was the situation in 1950 when the Federal Communications Commission imposed a "freeze" on all further television construction permits. At that time there were 108 television stations on the air in the United States, of which only one (the Iowa State station) was licensed to an educational institution. There were no noncommercial television stations. But already there was a new gold rush into TV. The Federal Communications Commission was swamped by applications for channels and construction permits. The signals of existing stations were beginning to interfere with each other. It was perfectly clear that 500 or more television stations were going to be built in the United States, and if channels were not allocated in such a way as to avoid interference, no viewer would be able to get anything except distorted pictures and fading sound. Furthermore, if applications were granted without reference to location, some parts of the country would be over-supplied with television and other parts would not be served at all. The pattern became all the more difficult to make because it had to be made, so far as possible, to include the competitive U.S. networks, rather than the single services which were being supplied to most of the other countries in the world. There were simply not enough channels available to provide VHF channels in every community for every network. Therefore, the networks proposed different plans designed to serve their respective competitive positions as well as possible. Overstuffed with applications, undersupplied with channels, the FCC had a monumental headache, and suspended all further station permits while it pondered how to allocate the air space it controlled.

During this period, of course, the Commission received advice and

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Ten Years (Stanford, California: Institute for Communication Research, Stanford University, 1962, pp. 334-45). As this is written, a new book on the history of ETV has just been announced, Channels of Learning, by John B. Powell, published by The Association Press.

persuasion from all sides. Amidst these powerful voices, the voice of education was, by comparison, at first a mere whisper. One of the first prominent people to speak out in favor of channels for education was Freda Hennock, who had recently become one of the FCC Commissioners. Through the succeeding developments she was education's friend at court, a rather unpopular position in view of the strong pressures to cut the pie entirely for commercial consumption. This may perhaps have had something to do with the fact that Mrs. Hennock was not reappointed to the Commission when her term expired. But more than anything else it was her friendly interest that encouraged educators and civic organizations to act.

A group representing educational institutions and organizations filed a petition, several times revised and supplemented, asking that channels be reserved for educational use. At first it was "nonprofit" educational use, on the theory that sparsely settled sections of the country might not be able to afford educational service unless it could be provided as a part of commercially supported television. Later, however, and not without strong objection, the application was changed to "noncommercial" educational television, meaning not only that educational stations would be restrained from making profits, but also that they would be restrained from selling advertising time.

In some respects it was a blessing to educational television that the Commission froze allocations for two years. This provided time to alert educators and civic organizations to the opportunity television offered them. Education moves slowly. Although faculties and researchers are sometimes accused of living in the future, or of being devoted to change, academic administrators are traditionally cautious and often conservative, restrained by boards and trustees and public opinion from rash or unfamiliar moves. To educators, educational television looked like a very large sum of money, a diversion of resources and talents to a peripheral part of education, and additional public relations problems. To many of them, the potential of television for teaching was not at all apparent in 1950, nor was it clear how a community, a school, or a college could ever meet the financial requirements even if educational television would do all that some people said it would.

But during the period of the Great Freeze, education did succeed in arousing support and closing ranks behind a petition to reserve channels. It will be of interest to mention here some of the leaders in this movement, even at the cost of neglecting to mention others. There were I. Keith Tyler and former President Howard Bevis, of the Ohio State University. There was Richard B. Hull, director of the Iowa State ("commercial educational") television station already mentioned. There were George Probst, director of the Chicago Roundtable (now president of the Thomas Alva Edison Foundation) and Seymour Siegel, director of the Municipal Broadcasting System of New York. There was Franklin Dunham (now deceased), of the United States Office of Education. There were Dr. Arthur Adams (now retired), president of the American Council on Education, and Dr. George Stoddard, then president of the University of Illinois (now chancellor of New York University). There was Telford Taylor, who had been a counselor at the Nuremberg trials and who brought his great prestige and skill to the task of representing education as attorney before the FCC. There was C. M. Jansky, the designer of pioneer educational radio station 9XM, whose firm of Jansky and Bailey did much of the engineering work, and Melvin Marks, of Cohn and Marks, who had long been chief attorneys for educational radio, and who did much of the work that went into the petition for educational frequencies. And there were others. They found a strong and wise supporter in C. Scott Fletcher, president of the Fund for Adult Education (founded by the Ford Foundation), who supplied both advice and financial help, then and later. With his support, the Joint Council on Educational Television was founded, representing the American Association of Land Grant Colleges and State Universities, the American Association of School Administrators, the American Council on Education, the Council of Chief State School Officers, the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, the National Educational Association, and the State Universities Association. Thus a substantial group of citizens, and an impressive number of educational organizations, rallied to represent education in its quest for channels. And when the FCC terminated the freeze with its Sixth Report and Order, in 1952, there were 80 VHF and 162 UHF* channels reserved for noncommercial educational stations.

In the excitement of the campaign for channels, some brave things had been said and some assumptions had been made about the speed at which education would take up its new channels. In the cold light of the morning after the Sixth Report and Order, education had to face up to the realities of television. To build and equip a station would cost from a quarter million to a million dollars. To program a station on anything like an adequate basis would cost from a quarter million dollars up, per year. There was no commercial income to cover these costs. There was no network to furnish the majority of the programs. Television required special skills, which were in short supply. It is not surprising that there was no rush to make use of the educational channels.

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*The abbreviations VHF and UHF may not be familiar to all readers of this book. VHF (very high frequency) refers to the group of 12 channels which most television stations in the United States now use. Television began with VHF, and most receiving sets currently in use are made to receive only VHF channels. UHF (ultra high frequency) refers to a somewhat larger group of channels at a higher frequency. Ultimately, most television may be in the UHF band. But an educational station assigned to a UHF channel, as many of them have been, has faced two handicaps: (1) dependable signals of the same power do not carry as far on UHF as on VHF, and (2) in order to receive UHF, a viewer has to buy a special set or a converter for his present set. An educational station on a UHF channel would thus be at a great disadvantage in competing for audience with commercial stations on VHF. The reservation of 162 UHF channels, in 1952, was therefore less impressive than it sounded. And only UHF channels were available for educational television in many of the largest cities of the country, including New York, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Detroit, Baltimore, Cleveland, and Washington.

John W. Powell says in his recent book Channels of Learning:

> The motives that inspired the scores of groups that sought to establish community ETV stations . . . were too various for easy generalization.
>
> The "normal" path of development starts from one or two sources: a formal but unhurried committee of educational and civic officials, or an inspired amateur lifting the torch of ETV for others to catch its light. Early leadership then moves into the hands of a recognized group of public-spirited men and women who still do not have command status. Finally, a powerful figure from the inner circle of influence is persuaded to take charge. The word "normal", however, is in quotation marks because there are so many important deviations from this pattern.
>
> It is clearly the business community that commands the destinies of the community station. . . . The motives appear to be dual. These are the public's stations; but where the business community furnishes the principal leadership and financing it is -- partly at least -- in order to keep the station from falling under state or municipal control. The reasons here appear to be mixed: In some degree, it is distrust of politicians who might use TV for propaganda leverage; in some, it is disapproval of public ownership as such. In Boston and Chicago, these were explicit elements of the business appeal. In Philadelphia, where it was complicated by the fear of socialists, the issue of City and School Board control was the source of the conflict that almost wrecked the station. In Denver, on the other hand, it was chiefly the assurance that the schools would run the station without public appeals that brought the Chamber of Commerce to abandon its opposition.
>
> . . . The evidence remains fairly strong that it takes the lay civic and business community to put the educators on the air: over all, a tremendous tribute to the abiding American faith in education -- in the idea of education, even among people who don't watch the station themselves.

The community stations had to get the support of business and community leaders, and leadership in the station campaign often came from this leader group. The university station, the school board station, the state station or network, each had to win over a board of trustees, or a school board, or a legislature. In these cases, leadership was crucial. It usually came from an inspired advocate "lifting the torch". In a state university the leader was often the director of the radio station, or of extension. In a school system it was usually the superintendent, or one of his top staff. In a state network, it was usually a member of the legislature. Somehow this leader won over his opposition, got approval, got a budget, got equipment. And without precedent, without example, without experience, often without any reserve of cash, stations began going on the air.

The Fund for Adult Education was again of great help, with grants of money to buy part of the equipment stations needed. The first noncommercial educational station went on the air in the spring of 1953. It was owned and operated by the University of Houston, which used it to teach some of its large classes (rather than teaching them in great lecture halls), to extend its teaching beyond the campus, and to furnish public service programs to the city and the surrounding portions of Texas. A second station also went on the air in 1953 -- station KTHE in Los Angeles, occupying a UHF channel -- and this is the only educational station which has ever failed and gone off the air.* One failure in 64 stations is not a bad record for an operation which is on such shaky financial ground as educational television.

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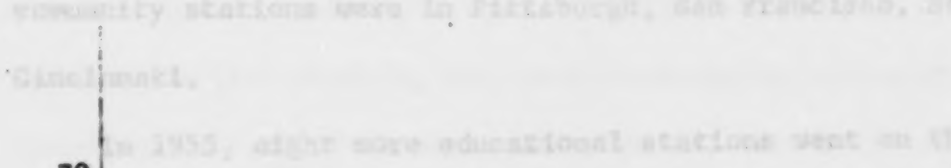
*KTHE received most of its support from a single donor. When he withdrew, in 1954, there was insufficient base of support to keep the station going. It should be added, for the sake of accuracy, that a Michigan State University UHF station also went off the air, but it was replaced by a Michigan State VHF station, owned by the university but shared with a commercial operator using a separate license.

In 1954, eight new stations began to broadcast. Four of these were university-owned, as in Houston, by the universities of Nebraska, Washington, Wisconsin, and Michigan State. The other four represented a different pattern. They were licensed to community groups, a group of citizens or organizations calling themselves a Television Association or Television Foundation, raising money from a variety of community sources. These new community stations were in Pittsburgh, San Francisco, St. Louis, and Cincinnati.

In 1955, eight more educational stations went on the air, and among these were still other patterns of ownership and support. The State of Alabama, operating on a grant of funds from the Legislature and under the supervision of a commission appointed by the Legislature, put into operation the first two of three stations intended to serve as a state educational network. And the first school board station, WTHS, in Miami, Florida, licensed to the Dade County Board of Public Instruction, went on the air to serve the schools by day and the public by night.

Five more stations in 1956, six in 1957, eight in 1958, ten in 1959, seven in 1960, ten in 1961 -- this is the rising curve of educational television's growth. One of the most important chapters in that growth (unfortunately too long a chapter to recount here) was the formation of the National Educational Television and Radio Center, founded and supported during its first years by the Fund for Adult Education, after that by the Ford Foundation. The NETRC operates as a network, sending its videotapes and kinescopes by mail rather than wires or microwave, and furnishing ten hours a week of superior programs to all its affiliate stations. The Ford Foundation, by providing videotape recorders for stations associated with NETRC, made it possible for these programs to be seen with high fidelity.



THE GROWTH OF ETV

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In nine years, then, 64 educational stations, of which 63 survive.* Twenty of them are owned by community groups, in cities like Boston, San Francisco, Pittsburgh, Chicago, and Detroit. Another 20 are owned by universities, such as Wisconsin, North Carolina, Utah, Illinois, Michigan State, and Georgia. Twenty-three are owned by school systems (like in Denver, Miami, and Kansas City), by state educational departments or state television commissions (as in Alabama, Oregon, and Puerto Rico), or by another educational institution (for example, the Louisville Public Library). Some of them are connected into state or regional networks. The three Alabama educational stations are connected, and so are two of the five Florida stations, and two of the three Oklahoma outlets. Pairs of stations are connected also in California, in Oregon, and in New England (Boston and Durham, New Hampshire). These are the stations we are talking about when we speak of noncommercial educational television.

THE MONEY BEHIND ETV

In order to see what it means to a station to be noncommercial and educational, we must look at educational television's financial reports.

In the last nine years it cost about $30 million to build and equip those 63 educational stations. At present their annual budget is in the neighborhood of $18 million. Inasmuch as the National Educational Television and

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*To complete the picture, it should be added that there are between 300 and 400 closed-circuit educational television operations in the United States, serving chiefly school systems and universities. Their capital costs are estimated at roughly $15 million, their annual operating costs at about half that. There is also the Midwest Program on Airborne Television Instruction (MPATI, or Airborne as it is more commonly called) which maintains two airplanes flying over northern Indiana and broadcasting instructional television over a radius of 200 miles. The capital costs of this project have been between $3 and $4 million, and the budget is a little over $8 million.

Radio Center, their "network headquarters", spends about $3.5 million a year, it appears that the total annual cost of educational television stations is between $20 and $25 million.

By commercial television standards, this is dirt cheap. The income of the three networks and the approximately 550 commercial stations in the last year for which at this writing we have figures was around $1.2 billion. Per station, therefore, it cost about five times as much to bring us commercial as educational television.

We are not implying that commercial television squanders its money. It broadcasts more hours a day, pays higher-priced talent, operates from live networks, does more with remote coverage of events. The educational television broadcaster would love to do all those things if he had the money to pay for them. He doesn't. Educational television has been a lean and hungry operation from the start. To understand that is to understand many of the things that will be reported in the remainder of this book.

Program cost has had to be low. Told recently that an educational station was estimating $1200 as the cost of each of a series of filmed programs for circulation around the network, a commercial network vice-president remarked that his network could hardly afford to open a big studio for that. On the other hand, another educational television director smiled approvingly at the $1200 figure and pointed to some of the programs he had done with budgets of $100 and $200.

The educational station is in a squeeze. It can't afford a live network and thus can't depend on the network, as the commercial station does, for a large proportion of its programs. Therefore, although short on money for talent and production, it is nevertheless compelled to produce a higher proportion than a commercial station does of its own programs. Thus, both the financial system and some of the equipment of an educational station may appear to be held together by bandages and bailing wire. In the community stations, especially, one sees frequently the odd combination of low finances and high morale, The station may be about to run out of cash, but many of the staff are on the staff because they love the job and believe in ETV. In fact, one of the most prominent of the educational station managers has said wryly that the morale of his station goes down whenever the financial situation improves, and rises again when hard times return to demand sacrifices, Spartan administration, and ingenuity at stretching funds.

This ability of the educational station to call forth loyalty from its employees and its viewers is a very important factor in community response to a station. Station KQED in San Francisco is one of the stations that has been remarkably successful in gaining support from many individuals in the community. KQED has upwards of 15,000 subscriber members, paying $10 to $100 each. Every spring, friends of KQED donate articles of all kinds, from automobiles to pet kittens, to be auctioned off for the benefit of the station, and then compete with each other to buy the articles. Last year this auction brought KQED about $70,000. Viewers who thus involve themselves in the task of supporting the station are likely to be loyal audiences.

It is only fair, however, to say that no other educational station has ever been quite as successful as KQED in this respect, although the quick and generous response of the Boston community when educational station WGBH burned down indicated a similar station loyalty. But the educational stations as a whole draw only a small part of their income from contributions by individuals. About three-fifths of the income of the stations as a whole comes from public schools, boards of education, and state, county, or city appropriations. This money pays most of the cost of the university and school board stations, and a substantial part of the cost of community stations. But a large part of this public money is given to pay for school broadcasts, leaving the station to dig up where it can the substantial moneys required for a broad adult educational program.

Whereas $30 million in capital costs, annual budgets totaling about $18 million, and a $3.5 million "network", would have seemed astronomic in size to the educators who reviewed what they could do with television just after the "freeze" ended, still it seems very small and constricting to the educational producers who have to put together a year of programs and to the station managers who each week must scrape up money to meet the payroll. The truth is that ETV from the start has been a shoestring operation, long on ideals and imagination, but short on cash; high on ideals, but low on salaries; strong on program standards, but weak in money for talent and equipment.

ETV PROGRAMS

What kind of programs come out of this lean and hungry operation? How does educational television look on the air?

At this writing, the educational stations are broadcasting a total of about 2500 hours a week. This is probably less than 5 per cent of the total hours of television broadcast in the United States, but it makes a distinct difference in the program resources of the communities where educational television can be seen, especially where it can be seen on a VHF channel. The typical educational station broadcasts five days a week, eight hours or a little more per day. Some ETV stations are on the air six, and some seven, days a week, but the majority of them broadcast Monday through Friday. From 9 a.m. until 3 or 4 p.m., they carry school broadcasts -- programs produced by teachers for wide use in classrooms of the neighboring school districts.[*] They usually go off the air during the noon hour, and often for an hour or so in the afternoon. At 4 or 5 p.m. they can come back on the air with children's programs, and follow these with an evening of thoroughly adult programs of an educational and informative nature.

Let us follow through a day of programs as offered by an educational station. On this typical day, the station comes on the air at 9:30 a.m. with a class in arithmetic. Taught by a master teacher, planned by a group of teachers and school administrators from the surrounding area, this class is intended to "enrich" the mathematics offerings of the area schools, and, incidentally, to help the schools introduce some of the concepts of the "newer" mathematics. At 10 a.m., the station has another arithmetic class, this one on problem solving. At 10:30 there is a class in elementary school science, taught by a well-known scientist from a local college. At 11:00 there is another science class -- this time, space science. After this talk, the station goes off the air until 1 p.m. Then come three language classes, two in Spanish, one in French. The French class is the well-known "Parlons Francais", produced and recorded in Boston and exchanged among some of the educational stations. These three hours of school broadcasting are less than the daily average of educational stations, but they nevertheless enter into the school experience of more than 150,000 children in the station's coverage area. They don't in any sense replace the classroom teacher, but do provide a change of pace for the pupils, share expert teaching and excellent classroom demonstrations, and sometimes fill in parts of the curriculum where local schools are less well equipped than they might be. For example, television classes have made it possible for hundreds of thousands of children throughout the country to begin to learn a foreign language in elementary school. Not many elementary schoolteachers were equipped to teach foreign language at fourth- or fifth-grade level. Television gave them the help they needed, both to develop their own competence and to enable their students to hear the language spoken by experts in a realistic situation.*

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[*] Almost exactly one-third of the 2500 hours of ETV each week are school broadcasts.

For an hour and a half in the afternoon, the station is dark. It comes back on at 4 p.m. At this time there is a half hour on some of the problems of growing up. This week it is a frank discussion of how children use television -- do they spend too much time with it? do they look for the best programs? and so forth. The next time it is a discussion of the problems of dating; when should a child begin to date? what do children do on a date? what shouldn't they do? and so on.

At 5:00 there is a kind of "variety" program for younger children. Children take a walk down a woodland trail, and are shown some things to look for that they might not otherwise notice. There is an answer to one of a series of questions on "How it began". This time it is on money, and viewers are shown wampum and other types of primitive money, and told how it developed into our own type of currency. Then there is a discussion of the human body; the topic on this sample day is human endurance. What are some of the remarkable feats of strength and endurance humans have accomplished, and what are the limits of human endurance which one should not try to exceed?

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*ETV school broadcasts are by no means restricted to elementary and high schools. Many universities put some of their classes on television. The City of Chicago offers an entire junior college curriculum by television. Memphis teaches literacy by television to adults, under the direction of Frank C. Laubach.

There follows a half hour when children are invited to join a well-known singer-guitarist in singing folk songs. Then comes a preview of children's television for the following day. Viewers are told that they will see pictures on how boats began, how caterpillars become butterflies, and why they sometimes itch and break out into pimples. This brings the station to 6:30 p.m. At this time, supposing that some families are at the dinner table and would rather have a background of good music than of pictures, the station simply focuses a camera on the record album of a Benjamin Britten symphony, and plays the record.

At 7:00 there is a lively program on ethnic folk dancing. This evening it is concerned with the dancing of Trinidad. Geoffrey Holder, who was born in Trinidad and played in the Broadway musicale "House of Flowers", and his wife, Carmen de Lavallade, formerly with the Metropolitan Opera ballet, are the chief performers. They demonstrate the Trinidad dancing, and, in discussion with a Smith College professor, explain how each dance is done and what it means.

At 7:30 comes a science reporter program. Under the guidance of an M.I.T. professor, viewers are shown an atomic reactor, and are told how the various parts work, and how the machine is used.

At 8:00 the station manager has half an hour. He gives a brief weekly report to the viewers on what is happening at the station, on new programs, increases in station memberships, and other items of importance, and spends 20 to 25 minutes interviewing, with real skill, a guest of the station. This evening his guest is Walter Van Tilburg Clark, author of such books as "The Ox-Bow Incident".

At 8:30 there is a program about the harpsichord. A well-known concert artist, who is also a university professor, shows how the instrument operates, talks about its history, and plays a selection by Bach and another by Chopin.

At 9:00 comes an hour-long panel discussion, moderated by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. Following up the afternoon talk on children's use of television, this panel now digs more deeply into the problem. On the panel are Newton D. Minow, chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, who has to defend his "waste land" speech against the questions and comments of Marya Mannes, the salty critic of the Reporter magazine, John F. White, president of the National Educational Television and Radio Center, and Irving Gitlin, the well-known network television producer. This is prime time on educational stations. Most of the programs at this time of day are furnished by NET, Mr. White's organization, which acts as network-by-mail for the educational stations. On Wednesday nights it furnishes special programs on "significant persons", on Friday nights a "festival of the arts". The Friday evening special this week will be a theater presentation of Julius Caesar. The "significant persons" will be the Welsh portrait painter, Augustus Johns, and authors Nathan Asch and Alvah Bessie. On Tuesday at this same time, the station will broadcast "Open End", with David Susskind leading the discussion. On Thursday evening, prime time will feature a hard look at the various arguments on nuclear war.

When the discussion on television is over, about 10:00, there is a repeat of a previous program, showing how one scene from the opera "La Bohème" is developed from rehearsal into performance. Educational stations often show a program more than once. They can afford to be less concerned about the size of audience at any particular time than about the convenience of their interested viewers. Thus on educational television a program is not necessarily dead after one showing; viewers often have two or three chances to see it. Those who like it well enough can see it twice, and those who are busy at one showing can see another one.

At 10:30 comes a 15-minute news analysis. This is not the typical television newscast, presenting a series of short bulletins with accompanying pictures. It is presented by the telegraph editor of one of the local papers, who reviews thoughtfully some of the leading news happenings, trying in each case to point out the significance of the news and to make it more understandable.

Finally, at 10:45 comes another repeat. This time it is an hour-long program designed to bring local problems out of the level of rumor and private conversation to the level of open discussion. The moderator of this program is a respected lawyer and former state assemblyman. Each week he brings to this program men who know most about the facts involved in the problem, and men who represent opposing points of view concerning it. The station is not afraid to prod sore points or cause controversy. Among the topics recently discussed in this particular program have been homosexuality, "big government", alcoholism in the area, segregation in the area (facing up frankly to the fact that the North has a segregation problem, too), campaign costs, and the radical right wing in politics.

At about 11:45, after approximately ten and one-half hours of broadcasting, the station signs off.

How typical of educational broadcasting is this day? No two stations are exactly alike, of course. The one we have described is a community station, therefore by its nature somewhat different from a school or university-owned station. The school station will probably broadcast more classes; the university station may deal more with extension materials, less with civic problems. The station we described is well established, and therefore will broadcast more hours a day than a recently established station which is still feeling its way and practicing its skills. This station is well run and skillfully programed, but there is a lot of talent throughout the educational stations. The day we chose to describe was a random day, neither more nor less impressive than most other days on the station. Whereas the programs will not be precisely the same, one station to another, and day to day, the tone of the programing will be the same wherever there is noncommercial educational television. A little rareified, perhaps; a little tense, certainly not relaxing; a bit serious and solemn; short in humor, long in problems; long in ideas and short in entertainment -- it is nevertheless a kind of programing which is bound to make a difference wherever it is available. Even though this sort of programing is on 5 per cent of all U.S. television, remember that it is presented at choice hours and its best programs are frequently repeated. It is the kind of programing we might expect to make itself heard even above the hoof beats, gunshots, and persuasive silken voices of the other 95 per cent of American television.

But the question is, will it make itself heard? How many viewers, what kind of audience, will it attract? To what extent, and by what portions of the public, will it be welcomed as a supplement to American commercial television? These are the questions the remainder of this book tries to answer.

2. MEASURING THE AUDIENCES OF ETV

The previous chapter described an exercise in idealism. Only idealists would have launched educational television into the expensive and competitive world of the commercial networks and stations. Only idealists would dare to offer the American people, who have been busy proving by the millions that they want to relax and be entertained in front of the television set, a television alternative of lofty ideas, fine art, and pressing problems. This is something like inviting American children to give up their summer vacation from school. And only idealists would be willing to operate these stations as many of them have to be operated -- with their eyes on immortal concepts and the finer things of life, and only enough cash in sight to run the station for ten days more!

It is often embarrassing to study idealism. One feels sometimes that the important thing is the idealistic act, and perhaps it is better not to look too closely at how much good it did to anybody other than the doer. But educational television is expensive idealism. Its financial costs we have already noted, and nothing more about them need be said here, except that they will be much larger if the medium develops along the curve projected for it by educators.* But ETV is also costly in broadcast resources: For example, it is occupying now some extremely valuable channel assignments which entrepeneurs would like to have for commercial stations. And no less than $6.2 millions were paid recently to buy ETV a channel in New York City.

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*For example, see the report of a high-level advisory panel to the U.S. Office of Education (in Educational Television: The Next Ten Years, Stanford, California: Institute for Communication Research, Stanford University, 1962, pp. 1-13) which urges that steps be taken to assure "every American the opportunity to receive ETV signals".

Comparable expenses will probably have to be incurred if ETV is to be seen on VHF in Los Angeles, Detroit, Philadelphia, and certain other large cities. Educational television is costly and demanding also in human resources. Many people have sacrificed time and energy, imagination and talent, to it. It would be a waste of precious commodities if all this expenditure and devotion were seen to be ineffective. Therefore, even at the cost of embarassing idealists, it is important now to have a reading on what educational television is accomplishing, and most particularly on what audiences it has and what the viewers think of it.

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

But examining the audiences of educational television is not so easy as it might seem. There are no ongoing audience ratings for ETV -- nothing comparable to the Nielsen, Pulse, Trendex, Hooper, American Research Bureau, and other such figures for commercial television. No television interviewers call up a list of numbers every quarter hour to inquire about ETV, "Do you have a television set? Is it turned on? Do you recall what channel you are tuned to?" and so forth. No diaries are kept regularly, or recording audimeters placed in receiving sets, for the special information of ETV. This is because ETV has no advertisers, and hence no one to pay the rather large costs involved in collecting audience figures regularly. It would be difficult and expensive to do so anyway, because educational stations are scattered widely through the country, and because their total audiences are small compared to the audiences of commercial programs. The commercial network programs, whose audiences are the ones chiefly measured by the rating services, are heard all over the country. A random sample of only a few thousand calls will therefore give a reliable national figure for the

audience of any of these programs. And even in individual communities, it can be assumed that everyone with a receiving set views commercial television, whereas only a minority is likely to view educational television regularly. In studying ETV audiences, one is faced with the problem that bedevils the students of most minority behavior not of a public nature -- to find the minority.

That is one problem. A second problem has to do with the need for home interviews. Research on the audience and effectiveness of educational television can hardly be conducted on the basis of short telephone interviews only. Interviews of that kind are all right to arrive at gross figures of audience size, but we want to know a great deal more than that about how people react to ETV. Therefore, it is necessary to talk to people face to face, so that they can reflect at leisure on the questions asked, can be shown documents or materials to which they can be asked to react, and can be asked a number of searching questions that would not be feasible in the five to ten minutes that are usually the limits of a telephone interview. The cost of home interviews is principally the cost of getting the interviewer to the front door of the right home at a time when the person to be interviewed is able or willing to talk. If interviewers go to a random sample of homes, and find that only a few of the homes contain the kind of people they are seeking -- that is, regular viewers of educational television -- then the interviewing is going to cost a great amount of money before a sample of sufficient size is obtained. So here again, before investing money in home interviews it is important to find the minority whom one wants to interview.

There is still another problem in planning research on the audiences of educational television. We haven't been sure that ETV is homogeneous. The differences between types of station may reflect spectacularly in the

audiences. For example, do community stations and school or university stations attract the same kinds and numbers of viewers? Does a state ETV network look much different to an audience than a community ETV station? What differences does a UHF channel assignment make to an educational station? These questions are at least as interesting, and probably more important, than questions about the size of the educational TV audience nationwide, or about the characteristics of ETV viewers as a class. At least these questions about the differences between audiences of different types of stations must be answered before national figures will be very meaningful.* If unlimited amounts of money were available, of course, one could study the audiences of all the ETV stations, and collect the individual figures along with the national ones. In our case, there was not enough money to do this, and it was necessary to decide whether to sample in such a way as to get a reliable national figure, or to get figures on the differences between different kinds of station audience.

THE RESEARCH STRATEGY

Facing these three problems, we made these decisions:

1. We should find the audience before trying to study it in depth. Specifically, we decided to schedule a very large number of telephone interviews in order to identify and estimate the number of ETV viewers in each community where we worked; then conduct home interviews with a sub-sample of the viewers in each case.

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*For example, if the viewers of the different types of stations are different types of persons, a figure on the size of the national audience would be as ambiguous as the small boy who said of his dog that "Rover ate three." What the boy's mother really cared about was not how many things Rover had eaten, but whether he had eaten three bones, two bones and a cookie, or three of the steaks she intended serving for dinner.

2. We should try to understand the audiences of different types of stations, rather than obtaining an undifferentiated national sample. Specifically, we decided to study the audiences of eight stations, representing the four principal types of ownership, all sections of the continental United States, and both VHF and UHF channels. This would enable us, we thought, to compare the audiences of different types of station, and perhaps to make some rough estimates of the national audience.

The stations we selected included

(a) Two VHF community stations, one in the East, one in the West;

(b) Two university stations, one in the heart of the Middle West, one near the eastern edge of the Middle West; one with VHF, the other with a UHF channel in a community where all the commercial stations are VHF;

(c) One school board station, VHF, at the western edge of the Great Plains;

(d) Three VHF stations, interconnected by microwave, owned by a Southern state, and operated as a state educational network.

These stations will be described in more detail in the following chapter.

HOW THE RESEARCH WAS DONE

In order to avoid as much survey terminology as possible, we shall put more details of research procedure in the Appendix of this book. But here let us sum up very simply how the research was done:

(a) In each of the test communities, probability samples were drawn from the telephone books within the coverage area. A probability sample is one that gives every name in the phone book an equal chance of being selected. Therefore, if we interview enough of the persons selected we can be reasonably confident that we have talked to a representative number of people in that area (or rather of the 90 per cent or so who have telephones).

(b) Girls who were trained as telephone interviewers completed an interview (by phone) lasting five to ten minutes with every name on the sample they could reach. By calling back no more than twice when a line was busy or a phone didn't answer, they actually managed to complete a little over 20,000 interviews, which was almost 90 per cent of the entire sample.*

(c) From the persons interviewed by telephone, sub-samples were then drawn in each community. These contained roughly three viewers to one non-viewer, because we were deeply interested in some things the viewers could tell us, and wanted the non-viewers chiefly for a series of comparisons which did not require large numbers. Interviewers were trained, and completed home interviews lasting approximately 40 minutes with about 87 per cent of the sample as drawn. These totaled nearly 1600.

(d) Interviews were coded, punched on IBM cards, run, tabulated, and given necessary statistical treatment.

(e) While this was going on, we also analyzed the program schedule and structure of each of the stations.

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*A sample of the persons who could not be reached by telephone were interviewed personally in their homes to see in what respects, if any, they were different from the people who were reached. No significant differences were found.

So we had program studies for each station, about 20,000 telephone interviews, and about 1600 home interviews, on which to base an analysis of the educational television audience. But before reporting any of the results, it may be helpful to say what kinds of interviews these were, and what kinds of information they tried to elicit.

THE TELEPHONE INTERVIEW

The telephone interview began like the ordinary commercial rating interview (the so-called "telephone coincidental" survey) by finding out whether the family had a television set, whether it was turned on, and if so to what channel. If the channel was not the educational one, then the respondent on the phone was asked whether he ever viewed channel so-and-so, the local educational station, and if so whether he had watched it in the last week or the last month or when. If he said he had viewed it in the last week, or "viewed every week", then he was asked to name a program he had seen in the last week, or to tell us something about the program if he couldn't remember the name. The person who had viewed at least one program in the last week and could prove it with some information about the program, we called a regular viewer. The person who couldn't pass that test, but still said he viewed the station, we called an occasional viewer. Everybody else was a non-viewer.

Then the interviewer tried to find out as much as possible about the differences between these regular, occasional, and non-viewers. Previous studies had advanced some hypotheses concerning the differences; for example, the viewers were thought to be better educated and culturally more active. So the interview was designed to test those differences and many more. The respondent was asked about his education, his age, his occupation, whether he had children and if so how many and what ages. He was asked how many books he could remember reading since last summer, how many magazines he read regularly, how many concerts, how many lectures, how many discussion groups or evening courses, how many civic meetings he could remember attending in the last two months. He was asked to think back over the last week (if he were a regular viewer) and try to remember how many programs he had seen, or how much time he had spent, on ETV. He was asked what other members of his family view ETV, and how often.

The girls became quite expert at this telephone interviewing, and found a quick and relatively painless way of getting a lot of information in a short time. The actual time per interview averaged nearer five than ten minutes.

THE HOME INTERVIEW

The information derived from the telephone interview, of course, was rather gross. We wanted to be able to make finer distinctions, to give respondents a chance to be more relaxed and thoughtful in some of their answers, and to get their reactions to some statements and materials we could not show them in a phone interview. Therefore, we planned a home interview of about 45 minutes, and found that it averaged, in practice, about 40.

One thing we were anxious to do was to find out something about what are the more popular programs on ETV -- not to get a program rating for them, but at least to put them in relation to other programs. So the home interviewer, among other things, went over with the respondent a schedule of the local ETV station for the last week, and checked the programs he had seen.

Another intention was to see how ETV was evaluated in comparison to other mass media. Therefore, some questions were asked about which medium the respondent would keep if he could keep only one, about which media he finds most useful for what purposes, which ones he depends on for what kind of information or entertainment, and how much time he habitually spends on the different media.

There have been some claims that the viewer of ETV tends to be an "influential". This, of course, is not easily determined, but nevertheless the questions which have been used in other studies to identify influentials were included here. So also were questions about social class and class norms. Several scholars have found that "serious" commercial television and educational television use (as contrasted to entertainment television) seems to be much more popular with the middle class than with the lower class. It has been suggested that this is somehow related to the common middle-class work or self-betterment norm. To test this, we gave the respondent certain statements on which, by stating agreement or disagreement, he could tell us how he felt about this norm.

Other questions were designed to find out how long the individual viewer had been making use of educational TV and, if he could remember, what first attracted him to it. This was obviously better for recent converts than old-timers. We also tried to find out whether he had favorite programs; and, on the other hand, any programs he found too difficult.

Some questions and statements then tried to find out something about the rationale for viewing ETV. The respondent was asked why his friends did or did not view, as he understood it. He was given some statements of such a nature that by reacting to them he could give us a good idea of his attitudes toward ETV. He was asked what he thought ETV was doing well, and what poorly, and asked to compare it in these respects with commercial television.

Finally he was given semantic differential blanks to fill out. The "semantic differential" is a highly ingenious test developed by Dr. Charles

Osgood, of the University of Illinois. It is very easy to administer or use, and measures with a great deal of validity and reliability what a given something "means" to a person, and some of his attitudes toward it. These respondents were asked to fill out semantic differentials on educational television and commercial television, and on viewers of ETV and non-viewers of ETV. From this part of the interview it was possible to tell, for example, how much "fun" and how "interesting" viewers thought ETV was as compared to CTV, and to compare the judgments of ETV made by regular viewers with those made by non-viewers, and also to get judgments of the kind of people viewers and non-viewers think ETV viewers are, and projective judgments of the reasons they think people view ETV. The semantic differential data were very rich.

Of course, many of these questions were not asked of non-viewers. The interview with non-viewers averaged 15 to 20 minutes shorter than that with viewers.

This was the kind of information the interviews tried to obtain, and the kind of material we had for a portrait of the educational television audience.

3. THE EIGHT STATIONS AND THEIR PROGRAMS

What kinds of stations were the eight we chose to study? This chapter will describe them briefly, and say something about the programs they put on the air.

You will recall that two of the eight stations were community stations. These we shall call

EASTBURY AND WESTVILLE

Eastbury is a prosperous industrial center of over a million people, in the eastern part of the United States. Westville is a sophisticated and cosmopolitan metropolis on the west coast of the United States. Its area includes about two million people. Both cities are known for the public-spirited activities of some of their leading citizens. Both cities were among the first half dozen licensees of educational television. They went on the air in 1954, with VHF channels, guided by boards of distinguished citizens, owned by community associations incorporated for the purpose, blessed with wide cooperation from civic groups and institutions. They are financed from a variety of sources. Westville is fortunate in getting almost 40 per cent of its budget from individual memberships, at $10 to $100 each. Another 25 per cent or so comes from the schools (for school broadcasts). The remainder comes from corporate gifts, grants for producing programs, and the like. Eastbury gets less from memberships, more for school broadcasts, and the remainder from the same variety of sources. Neither station is wealthy, nor far from anxiety over the relation of income to payrolls, but these stations are firmly entrenched in their communities, can count on loyalty in times of emergency, and have more money to work with than many other stations.

Their studios are in the heart of Eastbury and Westville, respectively. One of them uses a reconverted warehouse, the other a reconverted mansion, for the purpose. As educational stations go, they are well equipped, although they could use more than they have. The quality of their staffs is attested to by the fact that they are among the most frequent producers of programs which the educational network (NET) decides to circulate.

MIDDLEWEST STATE AND EASTERN U.

Two of the eight are university stations. The one we call Middlewest State is in the heart of the Middle West; Eastern U. is at the eastern extremity of the Middle West. Both stations are in their state capital cities. Rich farm land comes up to the outskirts of the home city of Middlewest State; and the station, as well as its university, feels more than usual obligation to agricultural extension and improvement. Eastern U. also has rich farm land all around it, but is in a state where industry bulks larger. Both stations are the property and responsibility of state universities. Their staffs are university employees, and the head of the station is influential in the university hierarchy. They train students in broadcasting, and for this reason, if for no other, their studios are on campus in university buildings. Except for program grants, these stations are financed entirely by their parent universities.

The chief difference between these two university stations is that when Middlewest State went on the air, late in 1954, it could make use of a VHF channel reserved for education; whereas when Eastern U. began to broadcast, in 1956, there was no VHF channel reserved for education in its area, and all the commercial VHF channels were already in use. Therefore, Eastern U. went on the air with a UHF channel. This has been a cruel handicap for the station, because the commercial outlets were well established by 1956, and the community was saturated with VHF receiving sets. The only way people could view the station at Eastern U. was to buy an entirely new set which would pick up UHF signals, or to buy a converter which was not inexpensive and had the disadvantage of providing additional machinery to install and maintain. Only about 15 per cent of the people in Eastern U.'s coverage area have so far equipped themselves to receive UHF. The station has, however, maintained a long daily schedule, and now also operates closed-circuit television carrying course broadcasts chiefly to university students.

SCHOOLTOWN

The Schooltown station is in a busy and growing city, capital of a state, located in the American West at the foot of high mountains which provide a remarkably effective location for an antenna. The station went on the air in 1956 with a VHF channel. Owned by the school district, with its studios in the adult school building, the station appeared at first to be chiefly a vehicle for school broadcasts and for extending the offerings of the adult school to the public at home. In the last few years, however, the community broadcasting of the station has been expanded and improved. Now, after devoting the daytime hours to serving classrooms, it goes back on the air with an evening program derived mostly from NET and from its own excellent productions. Some of these latter -- such as the lively "Ragtime Era", which was circulated nationwide by the educational network -- are not precisely what one would expect from a school board station, and that is all the more indication that the station has learned to serve the community as well as the schools. Some of its programing, though, is unmistakable in its origin. For example, the station frequently broadcasts repeats of classes heard in school during the day, and encourages parents to review these with their children!

Except for program grants and similar resources, the station is financed entirely by the school system. The staff members are employed by the school system, and the director is an assistant superintendent.

THE DIXIE NETWORK

The three stations we have called the Dixie Network make up a state network, owned by a Southern state, and licensed by a state educational television commission which is appointed by the state Legislature. Dixie A and B went on the air in 1955, Dixie C in 1956. All of them have VHF channels. One station is in the northern part of the state, near the largest city. Another is in the eastern part, placed so as to cover an expanse of land where there are no very large cities. The third is in the southern part of the state. At least one, and perhaps two more stations, will be required to cover the state adequately, and one of these is in the planning stage.

The network is programed by three production centers. One of these is in the largest city, operated by the area ETV association. The others are in the two state universities. Thus one of the centers is particularly aware of the needs of a major city school system, and the other two especially concerned with extension obligations. The transmitters are connected with each other and with the production centers by microwave. The state educational television commission coordinates policy, and the three production centers share program time. The financing, except for program grants and such things, comes from state money.

To sum up, the stations we studied include:

-- two community stations, Eastbury and Westville, in opposite ends of the country, operating on VHF;

-- two university stations, Middlewest State and Eastern U., in different parts of the Middle West, one operating on VHF, the other (the U. in Eastern U. will help you remember which one) forced to use UHF in a VHF community;

-- one school board station, Schooltown, VHF, on the western edge of the Great Plains; and

-- three VHF stations, Dixie A, B, and C, all VHF, comprising the educational television network of a Southern state.[*]

THE PROGRAMS THEY BROADCAST

We have tried to say how these stations might look to a historian of ETV. A more important question is: How do they look on the air?

1. How many hours do they broadcast?

The stations differ considerably from each other in program format. For one thing, the number of broadcast hours varies by a factor of almost 3:1 -- from 70 hours per week to 24 hours per week -- as will be seen in the chart on page 37.

The educational stations are individualists. What Schooltown sees as its job is not what Eastbury sees. There is not much pattern in the chart

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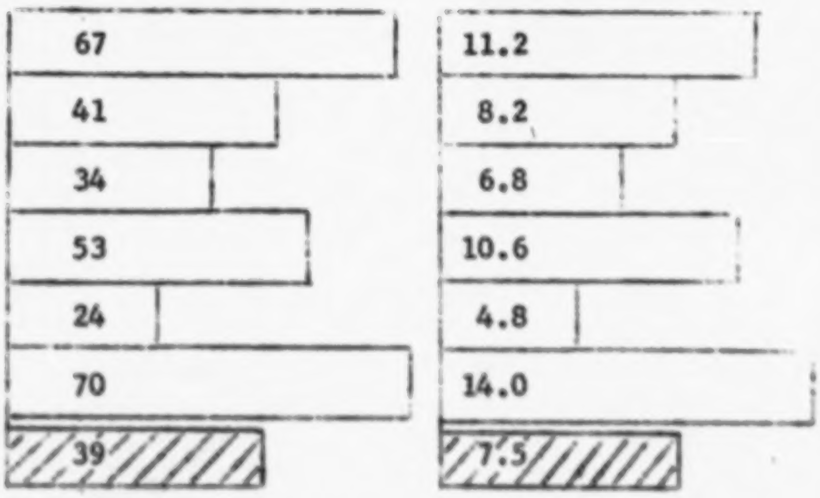
[*] In addition to these eight stations, we have, of course, detailed information on the community station which is the subject of the case study by Pool and Adler. Data from this study will be quoted in the following chapters where it seems to be useful without destroying its later usefulness. There is also a study of the ETV audience in Champaign-Urbana by Edwin B. Parker ("The Audience for Educational Television in Champaign-Urbana," mimeo, 1961), and of the Minneapolis-St. Paul audience by Roy E. Carter, Jr., and Verling Trohldahl (reports on adult evening audience for educational television in the twin cities (mimeo), Minneapolis, 1961). For other studies on the ETV audience see Wilbur Schramm, editor, The Impact of Educational Television (Urbana, Illinois, University of Illinois Press, 1960, pp. 18-113).



STATION	DAYS PER WEEK	HOURS PER AVERAGE WEEK	HOURS PER AVERAGE DAY
Eastbury	6	67	11.2
Westville	5	41	8.2
Middlewest State	5	34	6.8
Eastern U.	5	53	10.6
Schooltown	5	24	4.8
Dixie A,B,C (each)	5	70	14.0
52 ETV stations*	5 plus	39	7.5

just presented. The 14 hours a day which the Dixie state network broadcasts may be in part a reflection of the fact that they have three active production centers. On the other hand, Westville has production facilities and staff comparable to Eastbury (and broadcasts fewer hours); and if a UHF channel is indeed a depressing factor, then it is a bit hard to explain why Eastern U., which is on UHF, broadcasts so many more hours than Middlewest State, which is also a university station, but has a VHF channel. Financial support, concept of job, staff and facilities, all enter into determining how long the station is on the air, but our guess is that the job concept is most important.

The eight stations we have studied are on the air a total of 470 hours a week, which corresponds to a little over 22,000 hours a year. This is slightly above the average of all stations, as can be seen from the comparative figure taken from the Brandeis survey of spring, 1961.

2. How do they divide up this time?

There are considerable differences also in the proportion of time given over to school broadcasts, although here the difference is of the order of 2 to 1, rather than 3 to 1.

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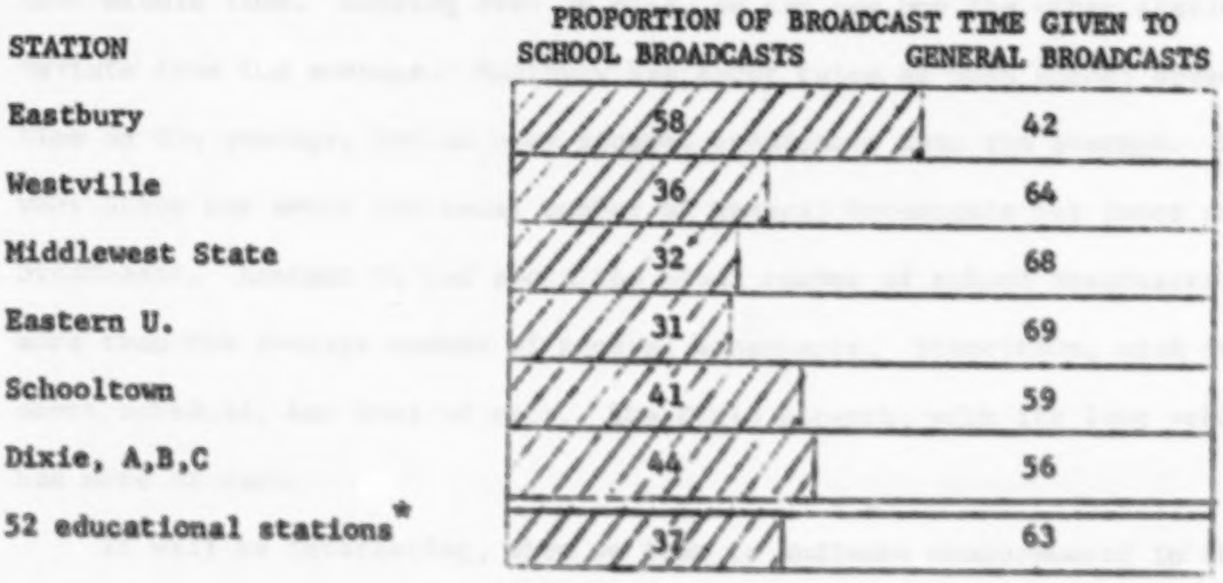
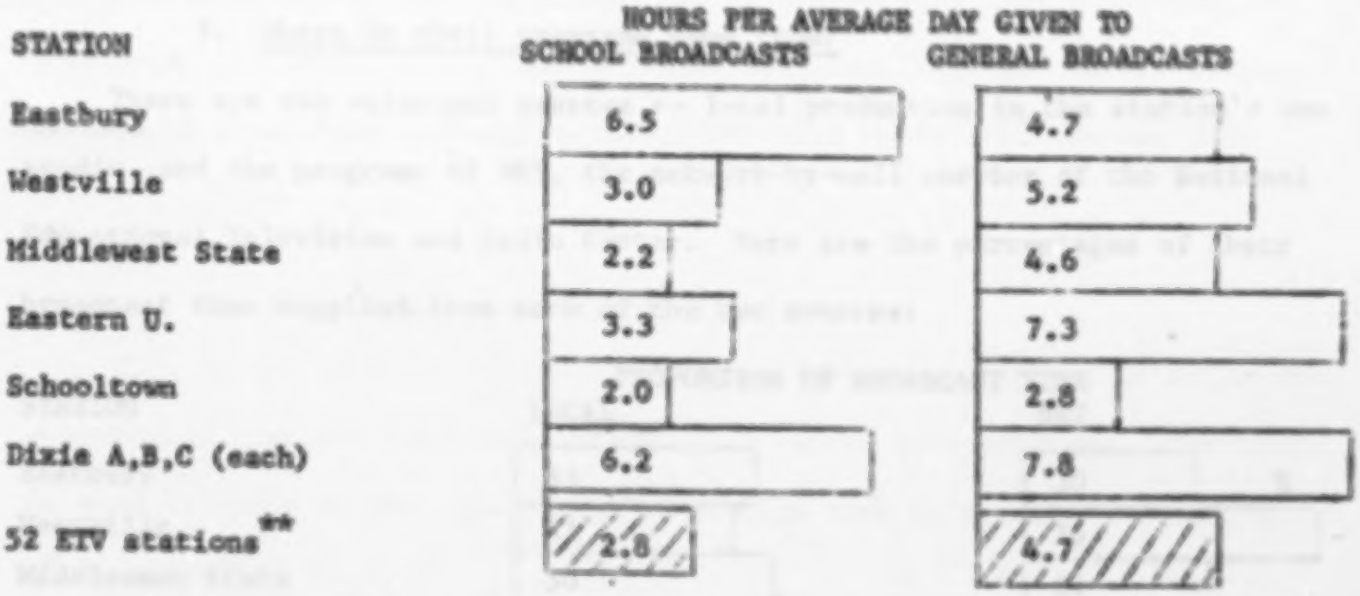
*From "One Week of Educational Television," Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts, 1961



Another way to look at this information is to ask how many hours on an average broadcast day an educational station devotes to in-school as compared to general broadcasts. Here is that chart:



On the average, then, we can count on an educational station to spend about three hours a day broadcasting to schools, and about five hours a day to its home audience. The Westville community station is almost exactly on that middle line. Keeping that in mind, we can see how the other stations deviate from the average. Eastbury has about twice as much school broadcast time as the average, but no more general broadcasts than the average. Middlewest State has about the usual number of general broadcasts but fewer school broadcasts. Eastern U. has about the usual number of school broadcasts, but more than the average number of general broadcasts. Schooltown, with its short schedule, has less of each. The Dixie network, with its long schedule, has more of each.

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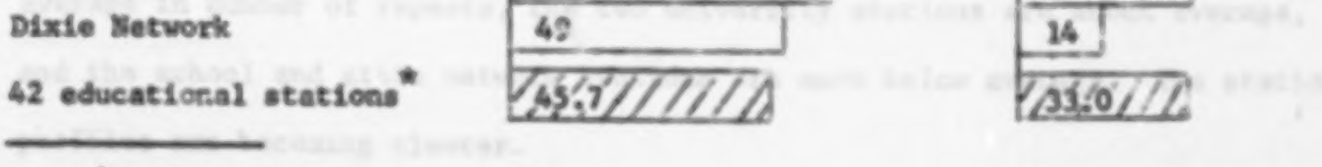
*Brandeis survey, 1961

**Computed from Brandeis survey, 1961

It will be interesting, when we come to audience measurements in the next chapter, to see whether size of home audience is related to amount of time spent on general broadcasts, and whether size of school audience is related to amount of time spent on school broadcasts.

3. Where do their programs come from?

There are two principal sources -- local production in the station's own studio, and the programs of NET, the network-by-mail service of the National Educational Television and Radio Center. Here are the percentages of their broadcast time supplied from each of the two sources:



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*NETRC station survey, 1962

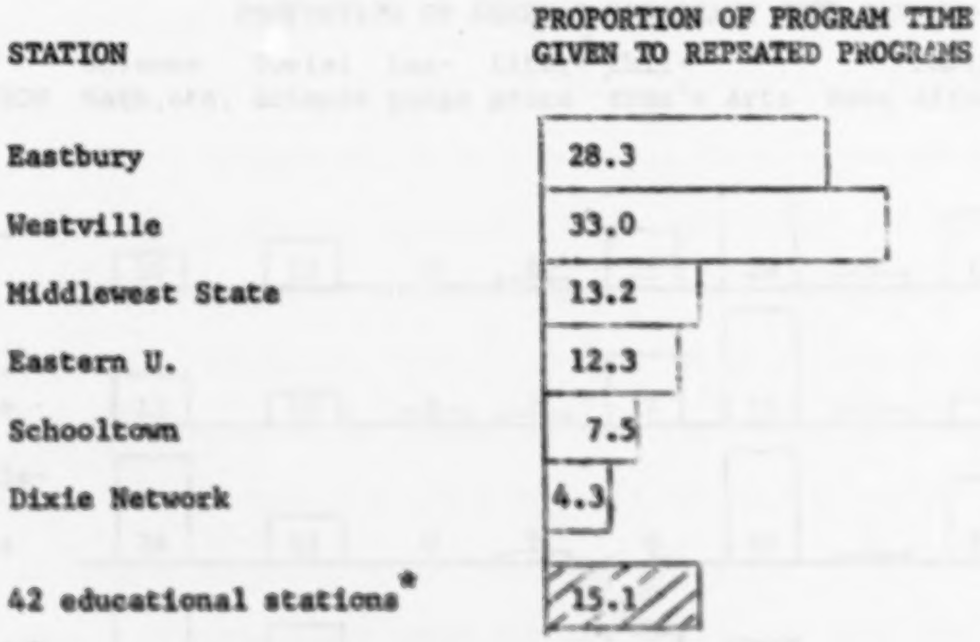
These figures make it clear that Eastbury and Schooltown are far above average in percentage of local production, whereas Westville is slightly below and Eastern U. is still farther below average. On the other hand, Westville is far above average in its use of material from NET, and the Dixie network is far below average. The reason for the Dixie percentage being low may be the fact that only one of its three production centers acts as the network's affiliate with NETRC, and only one production center has a videotape recorder for playing NET and other tapes. Let us postpone an attempt to explain the other deviations until we have more information before us.

The percentages for local production and network programs do not add to 100 per cent. Indeed, the average station gets only 88.7 per cent of its programs from those two sources. Where do the other 11.3 per cent come from? Most of them are from films or kinescopes. They are exchanged between stations, either by mail or by the microwave link that connects a number of pairs of educational stations. They may be rented from a film service, or furnished free by a corporation or educational institution. On the average, as we have seen, about one-eighth of all ETV time comes from sources like those.

4. How much do they repeat programs?

This is one characteristic of educational broadcasting; it is easier for educational than for commercial stations to repeat good programs. The chart on page 41 tells us what percentage of program time is repeated by each of these outlets.

Here we see a clear pattern: The two community stations are far above average in number of repeats, the two university stations are about average, and the school and state network stations are much below average. The station profiles are becoming clearer.



5. What kind of content do they broadcast?

If these were commercial stations, we should describe their product in entertainment terms -- Westerns, crime mysteries, domestic comedies, variety shows, and so forth. Inasmuch as they are educational stations, we find it easier to describe their program content in educational terms. The chart on page 42 analyzes the general broadcasts -- those directed to the general public rather than to the schools.

Now the differences are still clearer. The two community stations are strong on arts and children's programs. The two university stations are strong on science and mathematics; one of them (Middlewest State) is strong also in arts and public affairs, but has no children's programs; the other (Eastern U.) is strong in children's programs and social science. The school station is very strong in "how to do it" programs -- in fact, the only one of the stations which has any considerable number of such programs -- and also in public affairs programs, but the weakest of all the stations in arts. The

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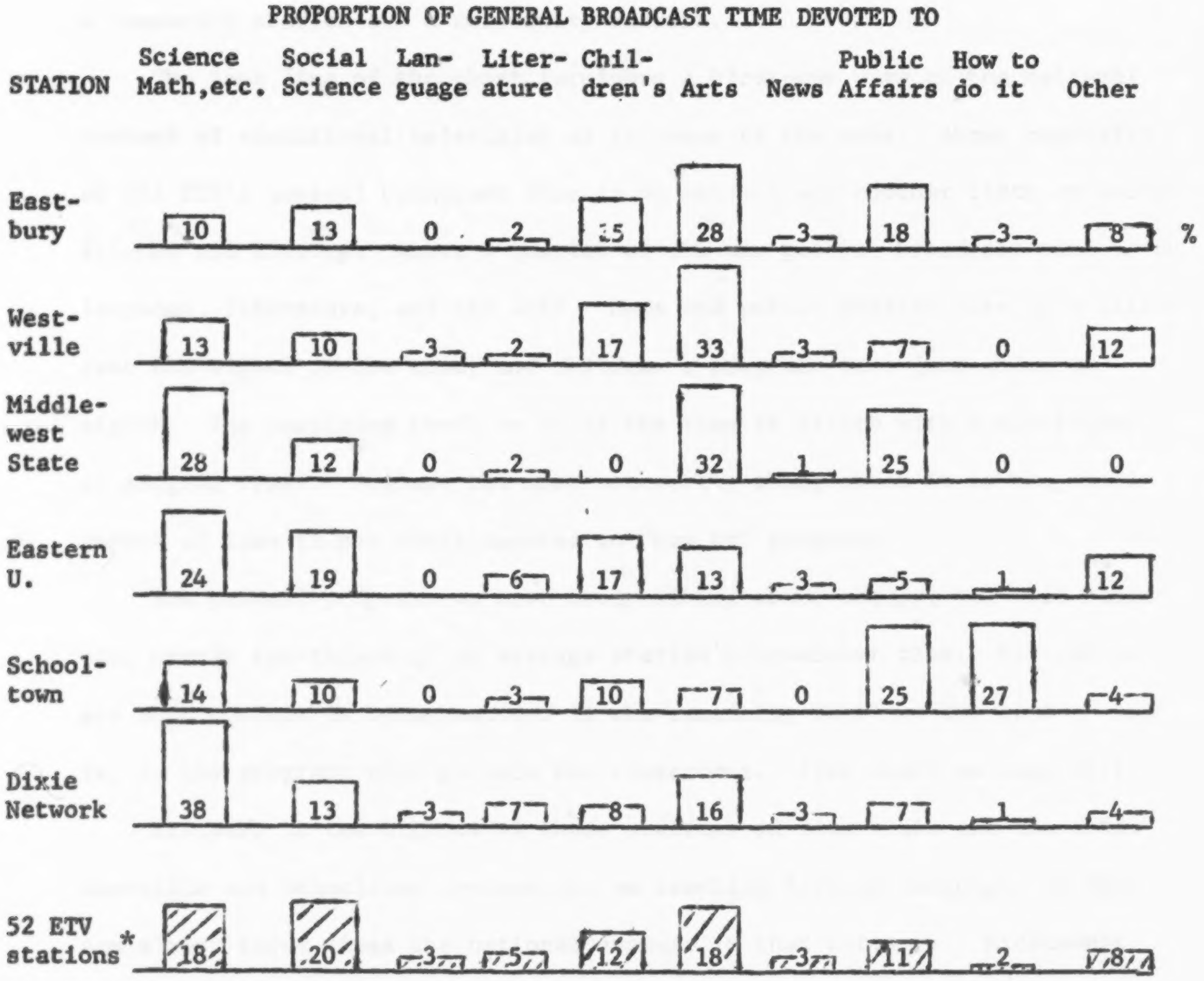
*NETRC station survey, 1962



Dixie network carries a higher proportion of science than any other of these stations -- more than twice the national average for science programs. But before we yield to the temptation to say that community stations are characterized by strong arts and children's programs, university stations by strong science, and so forth, let us notice that there are about as many differences within classes -- that is, between the two community stations, or between the two university stations -- as between classes -- meaning, for example, between a community station and a university station.

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*From Brandeis survey, 1961.

The last line of the chart furnishes a birds-eye view of the national content of educational television as it comes to the home: About one-fifth of all ETV's general broadcast time is on science and another fifth on social science and history. About a quarter of all the general broadcast time is on language, literature, and the arts. News and public affairs take up a little over one-eighth of the time, and children's programs take just under an eighth. The remaining tenth or so of the time is filled with a miscellany of program types. Perhaps the most noteworthy thing about it is the small amount of time (2 per cent) devoted to "how to" programs.

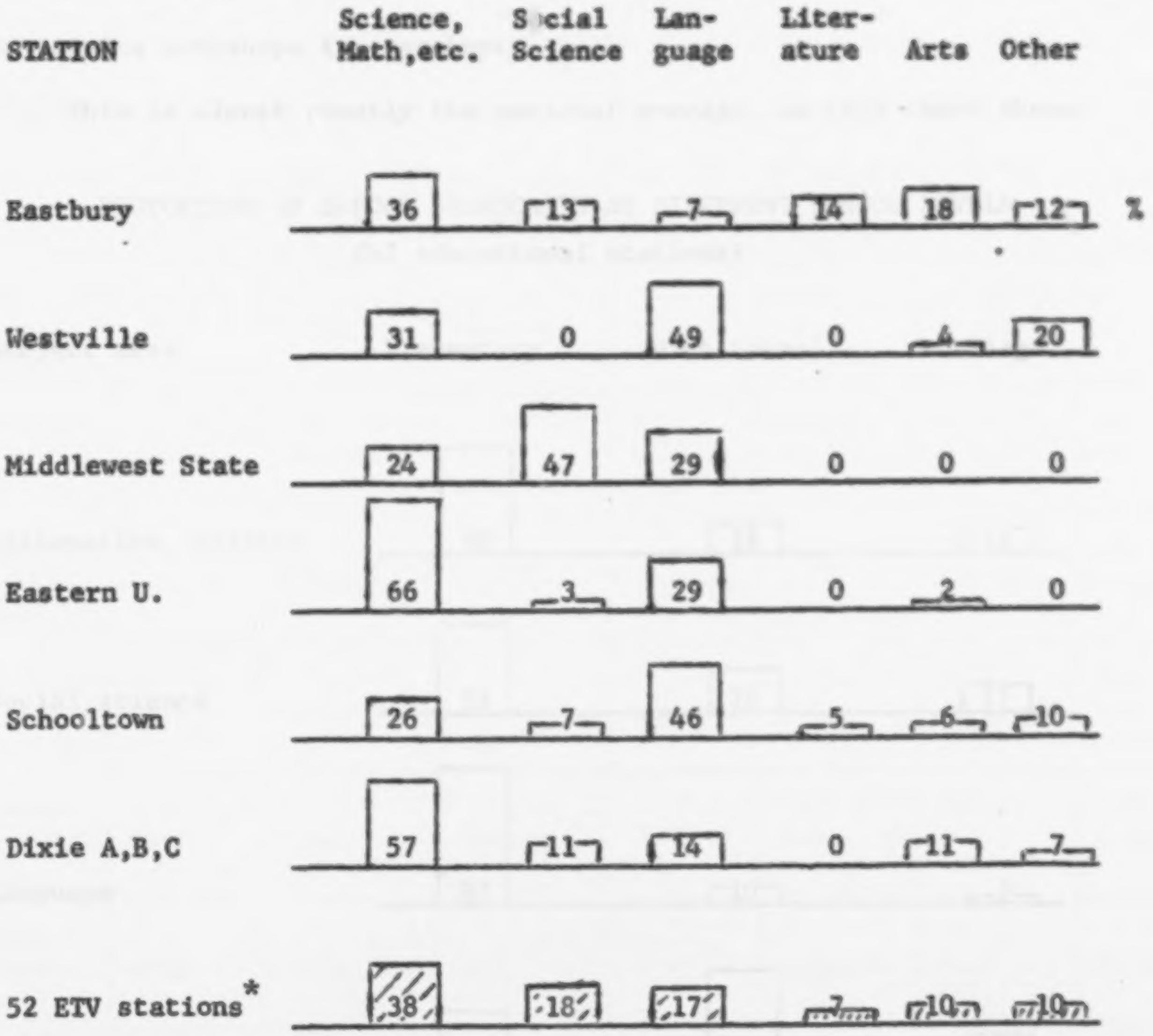
The general programs we have been talking about occupy, you will remember, nearly two-thirds of an average station's broadcast time. Now let us see what content is being handled in the remaining third of the time -- that is, in the programs that go into the classrooms. (See chart on page 44.)

Eastbury is the highest of these stations in literature and the arts. Westville and Schooltown concentrate on teaching foreign language; in fact are almost three times the national average in that category. Middlewest State concentrates on social science, with a strong second in language; Eastern U. concentrates on science and mathematics (two-thirds of its school program time is in that field), and also has a strong second in language. The Dixie Network concentrates on science.

How much of class broadcast time is directed to elementary school, how much to high school, how much to college?

These stations broadcast most of their classes for elementary school, regardless of whether the stations themselves are owned by school systems, universities, communities, or states. Only Eastern U. and Dixie broadcast any significant proportion of their classes to college students. Westville

PROPORTION OF SCHOOL BROADCAST TIME DEVOTED TO



broadcasts all its classes to elementary schools, except for three in-service workshops for teachers. Schooltown broadcasts nearly 90 per cent of its classes to elementary, the rest to high school. Eastbury broadcasts about 65 per cent to elementary school, the remainder to high school. Eastern U., Middlewest State, and Dixie divide their classes among the three levels, but in each case more than half the classes are for elementary schools. Over-all, these eight stations broadcast 66 per cent of their classes to elementary school, 19 per cent to high school, 9 per cent to college, and 6 per cent to in-service workshops for teachers.

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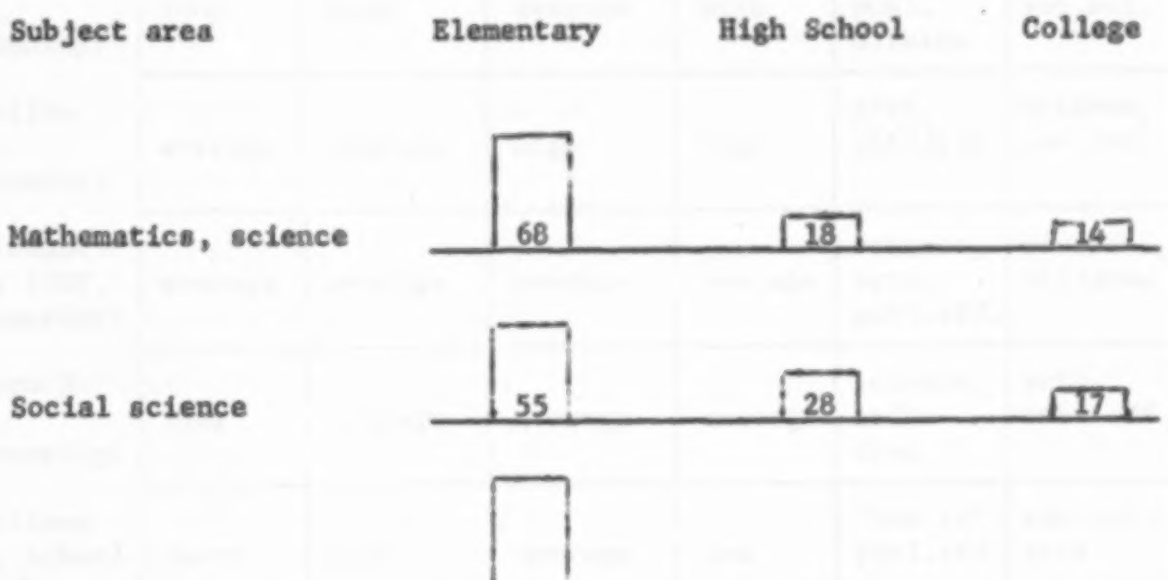
*Brandeis survey, 1961

This is almost exactly the national average, as this chart shows:

PROPORTION OF SCHOOL BROADCASTS AT DIFFERENT SCHOOL LEVELS
(42 educational stations)



SUMMING UP

Now, we are in position to summarize some of the differences in the programing of these stations. The following tabulation may help:

	B'cast time	Proportion of school b'casts	Proportion of NET programs	Proportion of repeats	General b'casts high in	Low in	School b'casts high in
Eastbury (VHF, community)	long	high	average	high	arts, publ. affairs	science, soc.sci.	lit., arts
Westville (VHF, community)	average	average	high	high	arts, children	science, soc.sci.	language
Middlewest State (VHF, university)	average	average	average	average	science, arts, publ.aff.	soc.sci., children	soc.sci., lang.
Eastern U. (UHF, university)	long	average	average	average	science, children	arts, publ.aff.	science, language
Schooltown (VHF, school board)	short	high	average	low	"how to", publ.aff.	soc.sci., arts	language
Dixie A,B,C (VHF, state network)	long	high	low	low	science	soc.sci., publ. aff.	science

As we have noted before, the stations project different personalities. The Eastbury and Westville stations, in large cities, blessed with VHF channels and loyal audiences, project a community, rather than an educational institution image. They catch up the tone and personality, and stand for the best in the intellectual and cultural life, of the cities. Their strategies for appealing to audiences are somewhat different from other stations' strategies, and even to some extent from each other. One thing in which they agree, however, is in programing a large number of repeats, so that viewers will have maximum opportunities to see the station's best programs. They are the only stations in the eight to make an extensive use of repeats. They agree also in fairly sophisticated programing and high production quality, and in being "arts" rather than science stations. Eastbury, however, creates an image of public service, with a long program day, a high proportion of school broadcasts, and an emphasis on public affairs programs. Westville, on the other hand, has only an average day and an average proportion of school broadcasts, but is distinguished by the large number of NET programs it airs, often with several repeats, and by its great attention to children's programs.

Compare with these the personalities of the two university stations. Eastern U., you will remember, is a UHF station, and therefore greatly restricted in audience. Nevertheless it has a long broadcast day, and, like Middlewest State, is a strong "science" station. Both these stations are about average in number of school broadcasts, use of NET programs, and repeats. Both of them teach a lot of language classes. Both make considerable use of their faculty resources. Both project a university image, and overall the tone of their broadcasts tends to be a bit more "teachy" than the tone of Eastbury and Westville.

The Schooltown station has still a different personality. Responsible to a school board rather than a community group, its first interest is in serving the schools of the city (which it does with a high proportion of schoolcasts). When it broadcasts to a nonschool audience, its first interest is in making available "how to do it" programs which relate to the adult school. Its general broadcast schedule is somewhat shorter than the other stations, which is doubtless also a reflection of its chief responsibility being to the schools. But the interesting thing about its concept of role is that it takes quite seriously the responsibility of offering some good nonschool programs to the general public. It produces one of the most entertaining of the programs circulated on NET (Ragtime Era), and it offers a high proportion of public affairs programs.

Finally, the Dixie network, supported by state financing and three production centers, projects a state service personality. It broadcasts long hours, and a high proportion of school programs, and airs many science programs (these doubtless reflecting the two university production centers). It makes little use of NET programs, seldom repeats, and provides a varied collection of classes for its schools, and of adult education to fit all kinds of viewers.

These are the different personalities. We shall now see how the viewers respond to them.

4. HOW BIG IS THE AUDIENCE?

What size audience do we expect noncommercial educational television to attract? What would we consider a "good" audience?

Almost every operative receiving set is tuned sometime during the week to commercial television. Depending on how many stations there are available, each set may or may not be tuned to each station every week. Where there are only two channels, both may very well be used. If it is in New York, where there are seven channels in use, a viewer may go weeks without tuning in one or more of the seven stations. But if he is an average viewer, he will watch television a little over two hours a day, and his set will be turned on, for one or more members of the family, five or six hours daily.

We have no reason to expect any such amount of viewing of educational television. ETV is a second service, added after television viewing habits and expectations were already established. It flies in the face of a well-established precedent that television should furnish entertainment and relaxation. One man told us, "When I want to lounge around in the evening, with my slippers on and my pipe lighted, this crazy station asks me to COME TO SCHOOL! It wants to give me a lecture on something, or start me to worrying about problems!" This is exactly what educational television does. It offers work and challenge with the same picture tube from which people have learned to expect relaxation and escape. And there is little doubt that a great many more people, at the end of a hard day, prefer to relax than to go back to work.

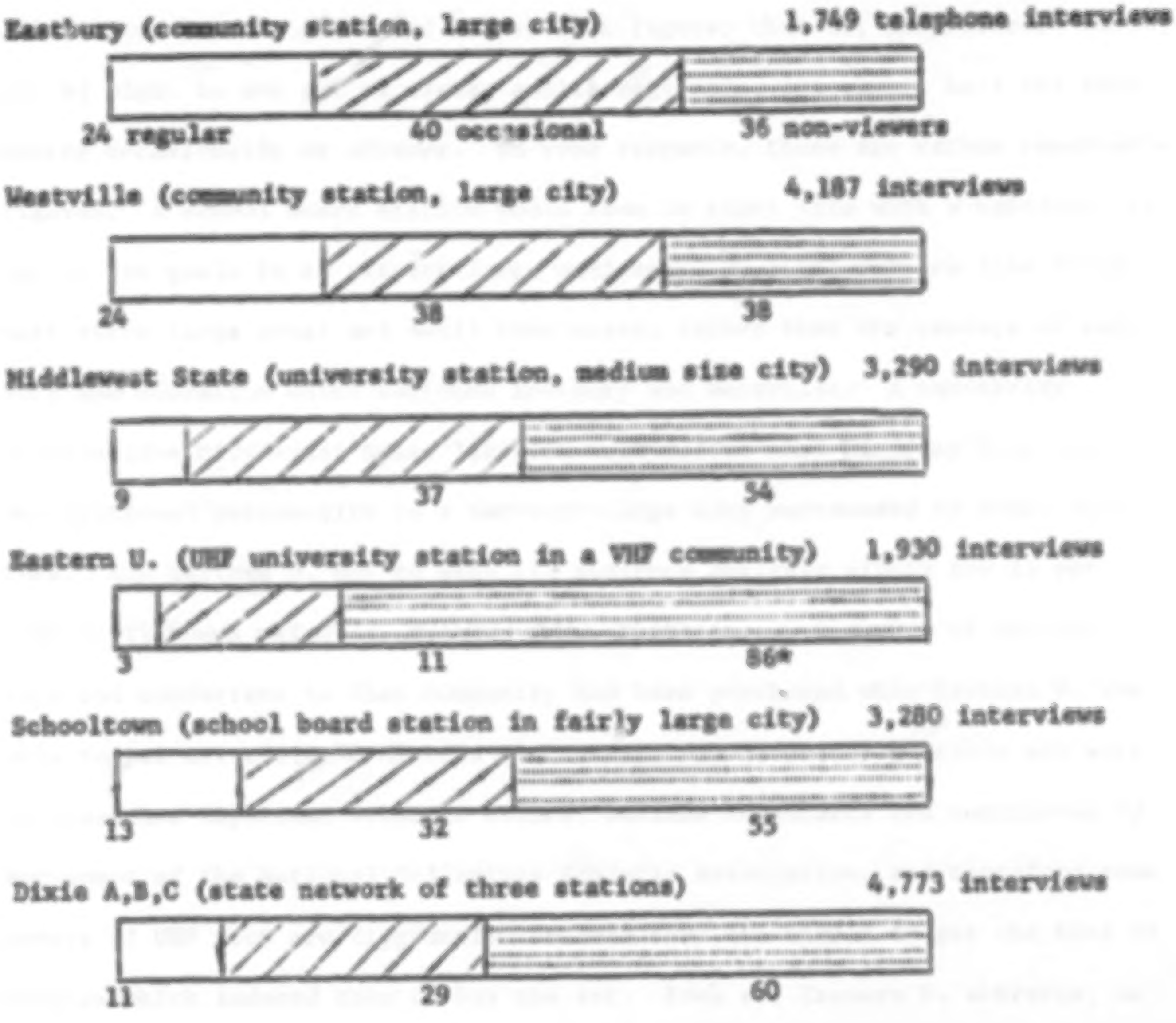
Therefore, educational television asks for rather uncommon behavior. It asks for behavior one might expect of persons who, after a day's work, hurry off to a lecture or a symphony concert, or go to the library for a book on the history of Africa, or study mathematics because they feel they ought to know about modern notions like set theory. People who do those things are small minorities of their communities. Lectures are not notably well attended. Symphonies are forever ending the year with deficits because of insufficient attendance. Only about 25 per cent of Americans read books regularly, and fewer use libraries. And if all the adults per hundred thousand who study set theory at home for fun were to be brought together, they would probably make no more than a comfortable dinner party. In other words, this is minority behavior. We are not arguing that educational television need restrict itself to these minorities; in fact, we shall argue just the opposite. But the fact remains that at present its underfinanced programing, its shortage of glamor and stars, the memories of school that its name calls up -- all these make for restricted, rather than large, audiences; for specialized, rather than heterogeneous, audiences. Therefore, we have no reason to expect that ETV will be attracting more than a minority audience. What we want to know is, how big a minority? and what kind of a minority?

HOW MANY VIEWERS?

Actually, ETV seems to be doing surprisingly well with its minority audiences. You will recall that we define a "regular" viewer as one who can give some proof he views the station at least once a week. We call "occasional" viewers people who say they view the station less often than once a week, or who say they view every week or oftener but can't give information to prove it. All others are "non-viewers", although each of these has probably at least "tried out" the educational station at some time.

These are the figures on regular, occasional, and non-viewers we obtained from the telephone interviews:

PERCENTAGE OF REGULAR, OCCASIONAL, AND NON-VIEWERS AMONG ADULTS



As expected, the audiences vary greatly in size with the type and personality of the station. The two community stations, old, well established, projecting a community rather than an institutional personality, are able to attract about one out of four adults at least once a week, and to get at least occasional use from about two-thirds of all the adults in their communities.

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*Only about 15 per cent of the homes in the area were equipped to receive UHF. Therefore, the figure of 86 per cent includes 85 who couldn't have received the UHF educational station even if they had wanted to.

The school board station, the state network, and the VHF university station all cluster between the 9 and 13 per cent figure; that is, they attract one out of eight to one out of eleven adults regularly, and almost half the community occasionally or oftener. In some respects, these are rather remarkable figures. A school board station would seem to start life with a handicap, if one of its goals is to attract large audiences. A state network like Dixie must serve large rural and small town areas, rather than the centers of culture and education which surround Eastbury and Westville. A university station like Middlewest State likewise must suffer some handicap from its institutional personality in a not-very-large city surrounded by rural culture. And Eastern U. has to seek its audience entirely within the 15 per cent of TV homes which can receive UHF. Furthermore, a number of the UHF sets and converters in that community had been purchased when Eastern U. was able to put university athletics on the air. It is seldom possible any more to broadcast important athletic events, because broadcasts are restricted by agreement of the National Collegiate Athletic Association, and therefore some owners of UHF sets are disgruntled because they are unable to get the kind of program which induced them to buy the set. Even so, Eastern U. attracts, as regular viewers, 20 per cent of the adults able to receive it. But the situation of Eastern U. points to the severe problem which all the educational stations on UHF face in trying to reach an audience in communities which have otherwise only VHF stations.

Are these figures representative of their station types? We have three studies, made about the same time as these and with much the same methods. A study of the audience of WGBH, in Boston, indicated that about 21 per cent of the adults in the viewing area could be called regular viewers, and another 31 per cent occasional viewers. These figures were based on more than 9,000 telephone interviews. Sinch WGBH is much the same kind of station as Westville and Eastbury, and serves a somewhat comparable community, the similarity of results is quite encouraging.

A study was made of the Minneapolis ETV audience about the same time. The Minneapolis station is community owned, but has studios on the University of Minnesota campus, and is apparently believed by a number of people in the Twin Cities to be a university station. Furthermore, it is a relatively new station. Its audience, therefore, might be expected to be more like that of Middlewest State than those of Eastbury or Westville. And the study did indeed find that the regular viewers of that station were about 10 per cent of the adults in the community.

A study of a university station, WILL-TV, was made about the same time in Champaign-Urbana. Unfortunately, the sample for this study included only the two cities, where university faculty members form a large part of the population. The figure for regular viewers was about 15 per cent, and, if extended into the farm regions around the two university cities, would doubtless have come to a level comparable to that of Middlewest State.

Previous studies of audiences of VHF educational stations, although made with somewhat different methods and designs, and with different definitions of "viewer", have usually come out with figures between the low and the high percentages in this study.* Studies of the Michigan State University audience, when that university broadcast on UHF, were comparable to the Eastern U.

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*These studies are reviewed in Schramm, editor, The Impact of Educational Television (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1960, pp. 20 ff.). The Michigan State Study was I. R. Merrill, "Benchmark Television-Radio Study," 1956 (1,901 television homes in Lansing, Michigan). The Wisconsin study was B. H. Westley, "Attitudes toward Educational Television," 1957 (799 interviews in Madison, Wisconsin).

figures. Measurements of the audience of the UHF outlet of the University of Wisconsin, appear to give somewhat higher percentages than for Eastern U., although it is very hard to compare the studies.

The advantage of the present studies is that they have all been done by the same method, at the same time, with adequate samples. On the basis of what we have found, we can say with some confidence that a VHF educational station now typically attracts 10 to 25 per cent of the adults in its coverage area as regular viewers, at least once a week, and a somewhat larger group less often than once a week; that the older and well-established community stations are likely to be near the upper limit of the 10 to 25 per cent spread; and the newer and the institutionally supported stations, nearer the lower limit.

We see no necessary reason why community-owned stations should attract larger audiences than university or school or state stations, except possibly that the community stations, by virtue of their sponsorship, try to attract larger audiences, whereas the institutional stations, by virtue of their sponsorship, are more content to deal with selected audiences. A reason for the difference between audiences in our data may be that the community stations we studied are in cities where cultural activities are well developed and where, particularly in the suburbs, there is a large percentage of highly educated persons; whereas the other stations are in smaller cities, and some of them cover large rural areas.

HOW LONG DO THEY VIEW?

We need also to know how much time the viewers spend on ETV. Are the "regular" viewers, for example, typically one-program-a-week viewers, or do they view a number of programs?

We tried to answer this by getting an estimate of the time viewers say they spend watching the educational station, and also by analyzing the viewing records obtained from home interviews. As might be expected, there is a wide variation. Some of the regular viewers do indeed watch little more than one program a week; others watch 15 or 20 programs. The average for regular viewers is three to four programs a week. To be more specific:

(1) Average time spent per week by "regular" viewers varies from one hour and seven minutes spent by men who are in the audience of the Dixie network, to three hours and fifteen minutes, spent by the women who regularly watch the Eastern U. station.[*] The median is about one hour and 45 minutes.

(2) Women who are regular viewers watch, on the average, about 20 minutes more per week than do men.

(3) "Occasional" viewers, if we can trust their own estimates, average about 30 minutes per week watching the educational station, even though they do not watch it every week.

AVERAGE TIME SPENT PER WEEK WATCHING ETV
BY "REGULAR" VIEWERS

	Men	Women
EASTBURY	1.13	1:59
WESTVILLE	1:49	2:13
MIDDLEWEST STATE	1:39	1:39
EASTERN U.	2:59	3:15[*]
DIXIE NETWORK	1:07	1:20[**]

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[*] The Eastern U. viewers may average more time because the difficulty and cost of equipping one's set to view the UHF station selects out the most interested viewers.

[**] The time figures for Schooltown are of the same order, but cannot be readily compared with the others because they were obtained in a somewhat different way.

Let us now translate that into total hours. Suppose that a station like Westville has 1,000,000 television-owning adults in its coverage area. We may suppose, then, that about 240,000 (24 per cent) of these will be regular viewers of the station, and will give about 480,000 hours per week to educational television (inasmuch as the Westville average, for men and women, is about two hours). If we can suppose that, in addition to these, another 400,000 (40 per cent) are occasional viewers, and may average 30 minutes a week, then these occasional viewers are giving another 200,000 viewing hours per week. Adding these two figures together, we can estimate that Westville is furnishing between 600,000 and 700,000 man-hours of educational television per week to the adults of its viewing area.

We are making the best estimates we can, based on the data so far available. But suppose that for some reason the figures were monstrously exaggerated, and had to be divided by two. Even so, Westville would be supplying something like 350,000 hours of adult education a week to its area. To realize how enormous this figure is, add up the lectures, the concerts, the discussion groups, the adult evening classes, and other adult education events held in the area during a typical week, and multiply each of them by the time it lasts and by the number in the audience. You will find that educational television contributes far more adult education to its community than all these other sources combined.

HOW BIG IS THE SCHOOL AUDIENCE?

So far we have been talking wholly about the adult audience. However, these stations spend the daytime hours broadcasting programs for the schools. How big are their school audiences?

Some of the figures on school coverage are hard figures, and others are rough estimates. In the case of Westville, we have hard figures. Schools in the coverage which make use of classes from the station are expected to pay a small fee per pupil in the classes taught by television. This fee has been paid for 151,000 students. It is probable that the service is being used by other pupils in other schools, without paying the fee. But in any case, we can be quite sure that at least 151,000 children in the Westville area are getting some of their teaching by television.

If they get an average of one hour television teaching per week, that is another 151,000 hours which Westville is contributing to community education each week.

Here are the best estimates on school audience which the directors of our eight stations were able to make. Some of these (as in the case of Middlewest State and Schooltown) were quite hard; others (like the Dixie network where no fee is collected, and schools do not have to report their use of the service) are educated guesses only.

BEST ESTIMATES OF NUMBERS RECEIVING PART OF THEIR TEACHING BY TELEVISION

Eastbury	291,450
Westville	151,000
Middlewest State	29,132
Eastern U.	100,500
Schooltown	26,000
Dixie Network	200,000
TOTAL	798,182

Thus, these eight stations are helping to teach perhaps 800,000 students. The overwhelming majority of the students are in the elementary schools.

College and university students in this audience apparently number between 5,000 and 7,500. The number of secondary students is probably around 20,000. This means that only about two and one-half per cent of all this television teaching goes to high school students, less than one per cent to college students.

HOW BIG IS THE NATIONAL AUDIENCE?

There is no way, at this moment, to estimate the national ETV audience in such a way as to give much confidence in the result. It is possible to make a rough estimate, however, by projecting the available figures to the other stations.

We now have studies made about the same time and in about the same way on 11 ETV stations -- the eight here reported on, and Boston (by Pool), Minneapolis-St. Paul (by Carter), and Champaign-Urbana (by Parker). By using the best current figure on television homes and adult population in each of these areas, and the percentages obtained in the television surveys, it is easily possible to obtain an estimate of regular and occasional adult viewers. By adding the school broadcast figures to these adult figures (which, of course, takes no account of children who view the station but do not get part of their teaching by television), or by adding an arbitrary figure based on other audience measurement (such as, for example, one child for every three adults), we can arrive at an estimate for the total number of individual viewers.

Suppose, now, that one projects the figures from those 11 stations to the remaining 52 in this way:

(1) Divide the stations by type -- community-owned VHF, university VHF, school board and state-owned VHF, and UHF stations regardless of ownership.

(2) For each of these types, take a high and a low estimate, based on the highest and lowest figures available from the 11 stations recently studied. These estimates are:

(a) Community VHF stations -- high, 24 per cent regular and 40 per cent occasional (Eastbury)

-- low, 10 per cent regular, 11 per cent "proved" occasional viewers (Minneapolis-St. Paul)

(b) University VHF stations -- high, 14 per cent regular (Champaign-Urbana) and 32 per cent occasional (Middlewest State)

-- low, 9 per cent regular (Middlewest State), and 23 per cent occasional (Champaign-Urbana)

(c) School and state-owned stations -- high, 13 per cent regular, 32 per cent occasional (Schooltown)

-- low, 11 per cent regular, 29 per cent occasional (Dixie network)

(d) UHF stations, all types -- high, 3 per cent regular, 11 per cent occasional (Eastern U.)

-- low, those same figures multiplied by 0.8 (inasmuch as only one estimate of UHF coverage was available)

(3) Obtain the best estimates possible of adult population in coverage area of each of the remaining stations, corrected for incidence of television homes. Multiply these population estimates by the viewer estimates for the appropriate type of station.

(4) Add one child for every three adult viewers.

We present the results of this process, not as a definitive set of figures,[*] but merely as the best conservative estimate it is possible to make in the spring of 1962, when 63 educational stations are on the air. It will suggest the order of magnitude of the audience, but should be considered only as a rough estimate pending a more complete set of measurements. Our estimate is:

> In the spring of 1962, ETV could reach about 14,000,000 television homes.[**]
>
> In those homes, it is attracting somewhere between 4.5 and 7 million regular viewers (depending on whether the high or the low estimate is more nearly right, and between 8 and 13 million occasional viewers (again depending on whether the high or low estimate is more nearly true).

This is a conservative projection but is still presented most tentatively. In considering these figures, it should be remembered that 17 of the 63 stations are on UHF channels and consequently are doomed for the time being to small audiences. It should also be remembered that the two largest communities in the country -- New York and Los Angeles -- had no ETV station at the time of this writing; the New York ETV station plans to go on the air in the fall of 1962, and, although no target date has been set, a Los Angeles citizens committee has announced its intention of purchasing and programing

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[*] The danger in this method of projection, of course, is that it may compound errors by multiplying incorrect figures together.

[**] It must be remembered that many of the stations are on UHF, and the number of UHF homes, where the commercial stations are on VHF, is only a small fraction of total TV homes.

a station. These two stations alone might double the ETV audience. If other large communities, like Philadelphia, could obtain a VHF channel for their educational station, that too would make a great difference in the size of the audience. And it is to be expected that the new program of federal aid to ETV construction, and the requirement that new receiving sets be equipped to receive UHF, will in the course of a few years make a considerable difference in the potential audiences for ETV.

But even at the moment, it appears that ETV is being used in homes, at least occasionally, by 12.5 million viewers (if we take the most conservative estimate), and regularly by at least 4.5 million viewers. It is helping to teach between 2 and 3 million children in school.[*] It is apparently furnishing, at the lowest estimate, about 14 million man-hours of educational and informative material per week to Americans.[**]

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[*] This is the present estimate by the U.S. Office of Education.

[**] Supposing that 5 million regular viewers view 1:45 each per week, that 8 million occasional viewers average 20 minutes each, and that 2.5 million students get one hour each of TV teaching.

5. WHO IS IN THE AUDIENCE?

We have described the audience of noncommercial educational television as a minority audience. What kind of minority is it?

It is not a minority in the sense that a small religious or racial group can be called a minority: that is, a group in which every member possesses some characteristic which every nonmember does not possess. Quite the contrary. The feature of the ETV audience which first comes to one's attention is that there are all kinds of people in the audience. There are young people and old ones, well-educated people and little-educated ones, parents and childless people, nuclear physicists and manual laborers. There are eggheads and businessmen. It is a minority of choice rather than a minority by determination. The only common trait that seems even to promise to distinguish all regular viewers of educational television from all others is that the viewers enjoy watching ETV. And even this is not a clear test, because some people like ETV but can't get it; and even among viewers there are differences of opinion about how enjoyable it is.

CHARACTERISTICS OF ETV VIEWERS

What we are talking about is minority behavior, rather than minority characteristics. And yet in the ETV audience there are a series of characteristics which occur as trends, rather than as absolutes. That is, a viewer of educational television is more likely than a non-viewer to have certain characteristics. These characteristics occur in different combinations, and viewers who seem to deviate from one part of the pattern usually are in accord with another part of it. When this minority behavior is viewed against a group of trends or traits, occurring in different combinations, then it is seen that the traits have a great deal of power to predict from a large number of individuals who will and who will not, given an equal opportunity, become a viewer of ETV.

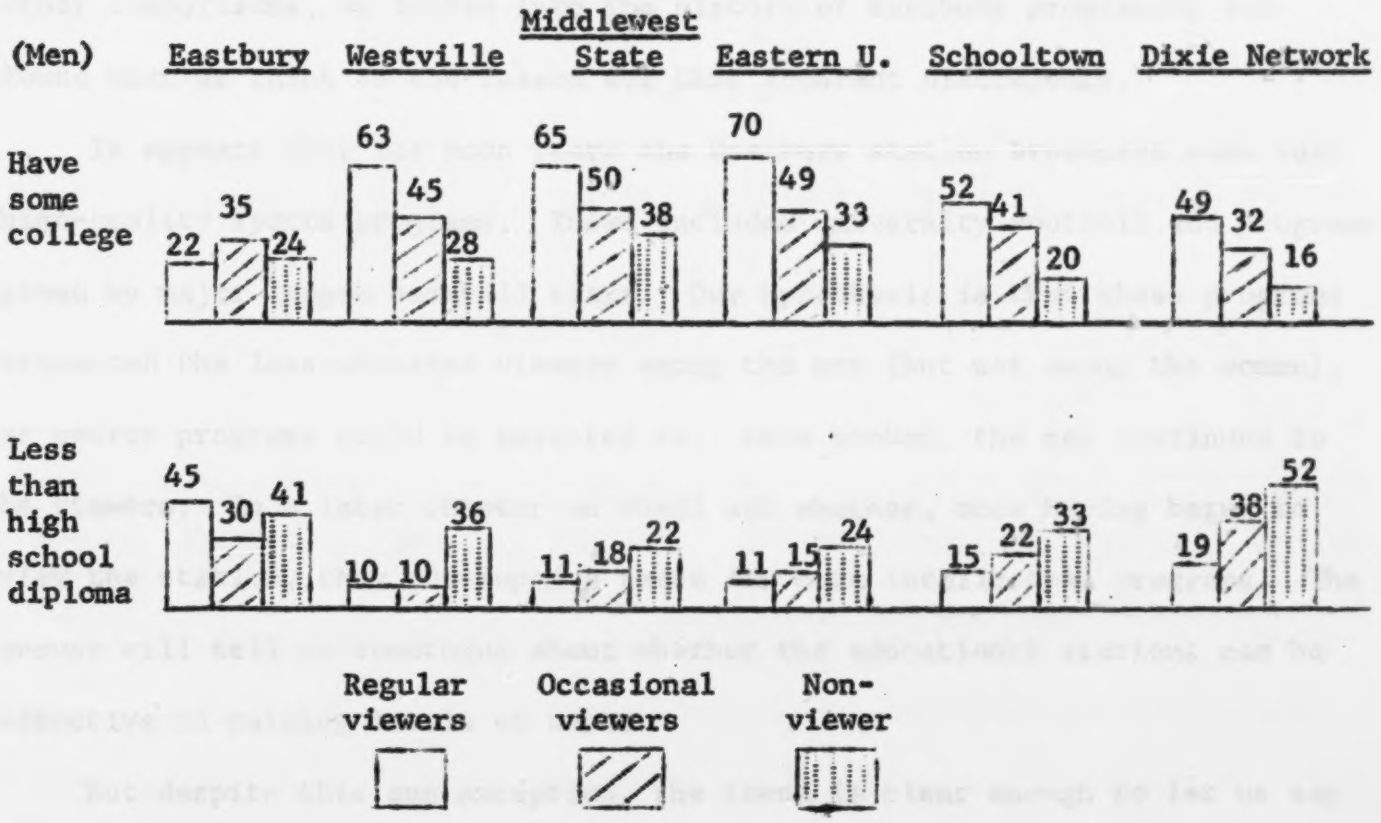
Except as noted, the numbers of cases in the charts and tables on audience characteristics which appear in this and following chapters are the same as those in Table 1 of the Appendix. These n's will not be repeated, in order to simplify the presentations.

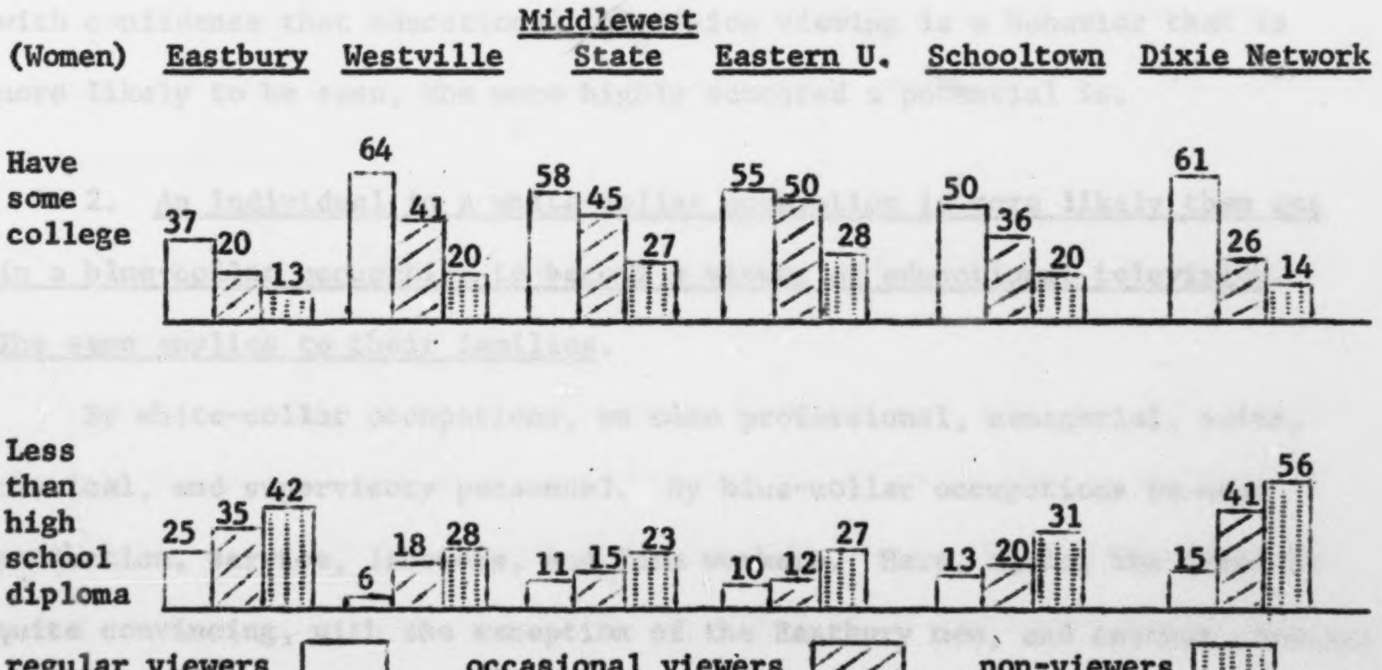
Among these traits we do not find some which, at one time or another, have been advanced as probable characteristics of an educational audience. There is no difference pattern in age which consistently distinguishes viewers from non-viewers. There is some slight indication that the age group 30-39 produces a larger proportion of ETV viewers than do other age groups, but the trend is slight, and even if it were larger we should discount it on the grounds that people of that age have a lot of energy and tend to be generally more culturally active than older or younger people. It is also clear that parenthood does not make people any more likely to be viewers of educational television. Number of children makes some difference, but not the mere fact of having children. And there is no evidence that either the non-viewers or the viewers think of the ETV audience as "egghead" or "snobbish". The semantic differentials show only an insignificant difference between viewers and non-viewers on that point, as we shall have occasion to illustrate later.

The traits which have proved to be the best predictors are these:

1. The better educated an individual in an ETV community, the more likely he is to be a viewer of ETV.

This chart shows the percentage of regular viewers, occasional viewers, and non-viewers of each station who (a) have some college education, and (b) the percentage who have less than a high school diploma:





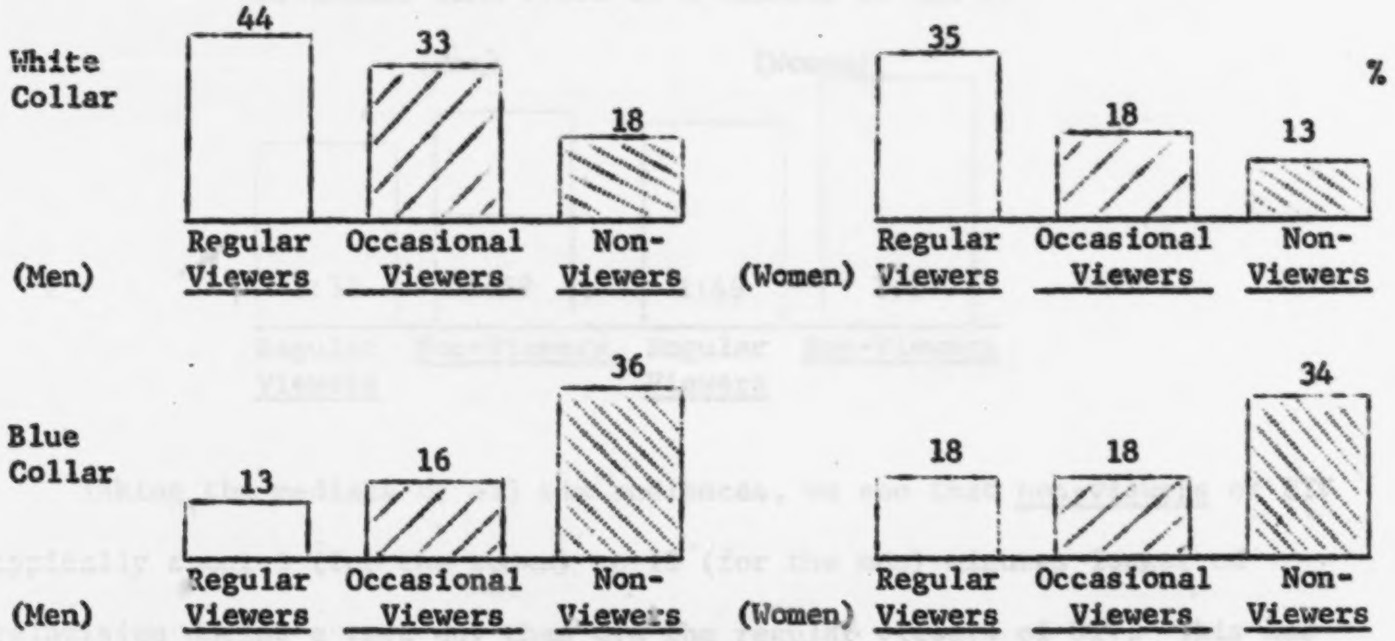
With one exception these trends are strong and consistent: the more education a group has had, the more likely a member of the group is to be a viewer of educational television. The one exception is the sample of men from Eastbury. The Eastbury women fit the pattern perfectly, but the men do not. Since these same men are also deviant from the common pattern on other comparisons, we looked into the history of Eastbury programing and found what we think is the reason for this apparent discrepancy.

It appears that for some years the Eastbury station broadcast some very high-quality sports programs. These included university football and programs given by major league baseball stars. Our hypothesis is that these programs attracted the less-educated viewers among the men (but not among the women), as sports programs would be expected to. Once hooked, the men continued to be viewers. In a later chapter we shall ask whether, once having begun to view the station, they developed a taste for more intellectual programs. The answer will tell us something about whether the educational stations can be effective in raising levels of taste.

But despite this one exception, the trend is clear enough to let us say with confidence that educational television viewing is a behavior that is more likely to be seen, the more highly educated a potential is.

2. An individual in a white-collar occupation is more likely than one in a blue-collar occupation to become a viewer of educational television. The same applies to their families.

By white-collar occupations, we mean professional, managerial, sales, clerical, and supervisory personnel. By blue-collar occupations we mean production, service, laborers, and farm workers. Here, again, the trend is quite convincing, with the exception of the Eastbury men, and another reversal on the part of Eastern U. Men. In other words, 10 out of 12 comparisons support the trend. We can let the Westville chart stand for the others:



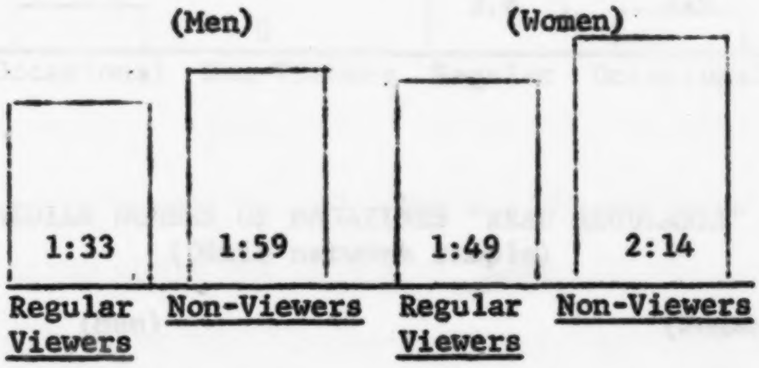
RELATIVE LIKELIHOOD OF REGULAR, OCCASIONAL, AND NON-VIEWERS COMING FROM WHITE- AND BLUE-COLLAR GROUP

Since education, occupation, and "social status" (or class) are usually highly correlated, we can say of the ETV audience that its members are more likely to come from the upper levels of the community social structure. This is true not only of the audiences of the community stations in the large cities, but also the audiences of the school and university stations, and the Dixie network.

3. A viewer of educational television is not typically a heavy viewer of television in general.

When we asked telephone respondents to think back over the last weekday and try to remember how much time they spent with television -- any kind of television -- we found (everywhere except with the men in Pittsburgh) that total time on television correlated negatively with regularity of viewing ETV. That is, the regular viewers of educational television tended to spend less total time on television than did the non-viewers. This was true in every case except with the men in Pittsburgh. Here, for example, are the figures for the Middlewest State audience:

ESTIMATED TIME SPENT ON A WEEKDAY ON ALL TV

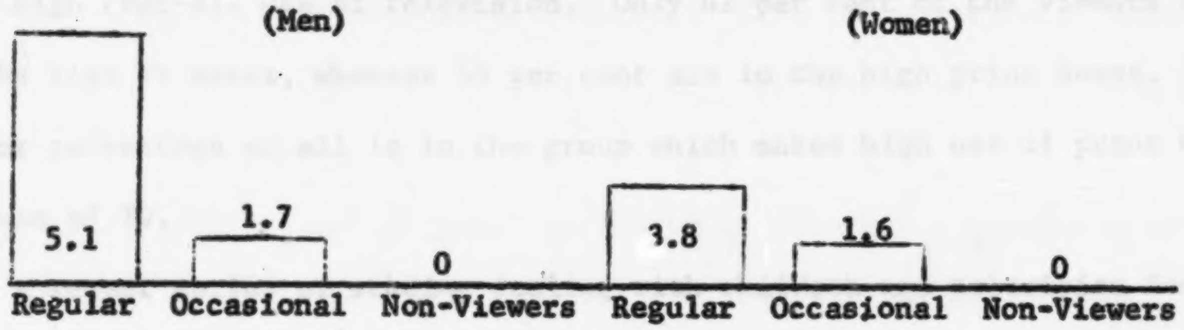


Taking the medians of all six audiences, we see that non-viewers of ETV typically spent 9 (for the women) to 13 (for the men) minutes longer on television during a test day than did the regular viewers of ETV. This has a very important significance. It means that viewing of educational television is not something that is added on to other television use; rather, it is substituted for commercial television time.

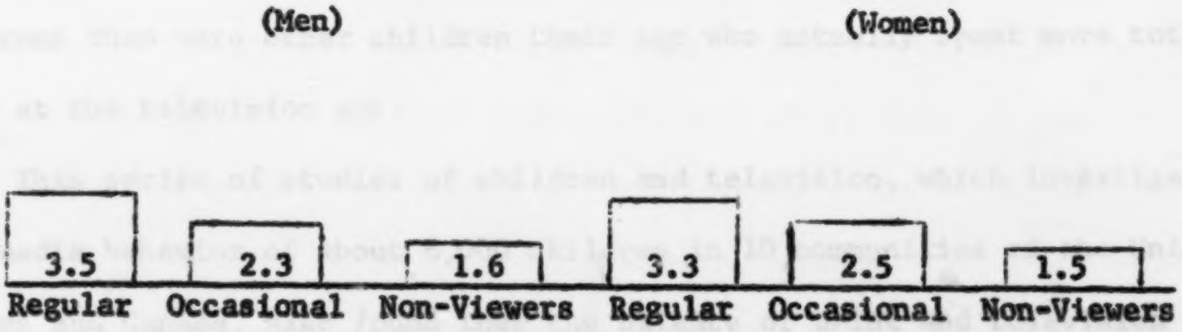
4. A viewer of educational television is likely to make more than average use of the printed media.

One trend that is completely consistent throughout the data, even with the Eastbury men, is in the amount of book and magazine reading, relative to educational viewing. The regular viewer of ETV is likely to read about twice as many magazines, perhaps four times as many books as the non-viewer. This time, we can let the Dixie network figures stand for the others. The same pattern is to be seen in all the audiences.

MEDIAN NUMBER OF BOOKS READ "SINCE LAST SUMMER"
(Dixie network sample)



MEDIAN NUMBER OF MAGAZINES "READ REGULARLY"
(Dixie network sample)



It is possible to establish an index of media usage by dividing people into above and below average users of television, books and magazines, and then combining the resulting groups --

High in TV, low in print

High in TV, high in print

Low in TV, low in print

Low in TV, high in print.

When we divided the regular viewers into these four boxes, the percentages came out this way:

High TV, low print **16% of regular viewers of ETV**	**High TV, high print** **26% of regular viewers of ETV**
Low TV, low print **18% of regular viewers of ETV**	**Low TV, high print** **40% of regular viewers of ETV**

In other words, viewing of ETV seems to go with high use of print, rather than high over-all use of television. Only 42 per cent of the viewers are in the high TV boxes, whereas 66 per cent are in the high print boxes. The higher percentage of all is in the group which makes high use of print but low use of TV.

A recent series of studies dealing with children and television found a similar relationship.* Educational television was available in two of the cities studied in that series. In those cities the children who read more than the average for their age were more likely to view educational television programs than were other children their age who actually spent more total time at the television set.

This series of studies of children and television, which investigated the media behavior of about 6,000 children in 10 communities of the United States and Canada, also found that the balance of print and television use was strongly related to socio-economic factors. The high use of books is typical of persons in white-collar status, whereas high use of television is typical of those in blue-collar status. Other studies** have demonstrated that there is a tendency for persons in the white-collar group to look upon television with suspicion. Some of them seem to feel that the nature of the medium is such that time spent watching it is unproductive time, and therefore conflicts with the work norm of the middle and upper groups in society. These are the normative patterns which Schneider and Lysgaard*** called deferred gratification patterns, in contrast to the immediate gratification pattern attributed to the blue-collar group. Thus the upper socio-economic strata tend to be in favor of serious reading, but somewhat suspicious of entertainment television.

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*Schramm, W., Lyle, J., and Parker, E. B. Television in the Lives of Our Children. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1961

**Maccoby, E. "Why Do Children Watch Television?" Publ. Opin. Quart., 18 (1954), 239-44

***Schneider, L., and Lysgaard, S. "The Deferred Gratification Pattern," Amer. Sociol. Rev., 18 (1953), 142-49

We shall want to return again to the idea of deferred gratification norms when we discuss reasons why people view educational television. But let us here point out that what we are finding about the ETV audience so far fits very nicely with these earlier studies. We find that viewing of ETV seems to ally itself more closely with high use of print than with high use of commercial television. It tends to be an approved activity of the upper socio-economic levels, the more highly educated people who, as the recent CBS study and other recent work shows, are still critical and suspicious of entertainment television.* There is every reason to believe that these better-educated and higher-status groups think of educational television as being quite different from commercial television, more akin to serious reading, and something that can much more easily than commercial television be sanctioned by their norms.

5. A viewer of educational television is much more likely than a non-viewer to be active in the cultural and civic life of his community.

Of course, only a minority of the people take a really active part in the cultural and civic life of any community. But the proportion of educational television viewers who attend such events as concerts, plays, lectures, discussion groups, evening classes, and civic affairs meetings is consistently higher than that of non-viewers. Here again we have a completely consistent pattern through all the station audiences with the sometime exception of the Eastbury men (as usual, the Eastbury women are very models of conformity with the trend, but not so their husbands). We can let the Eastern U. results stand for the others:

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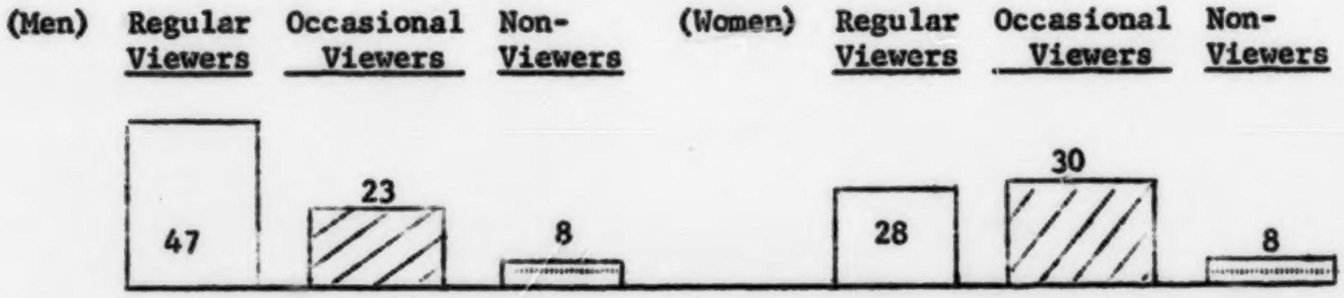
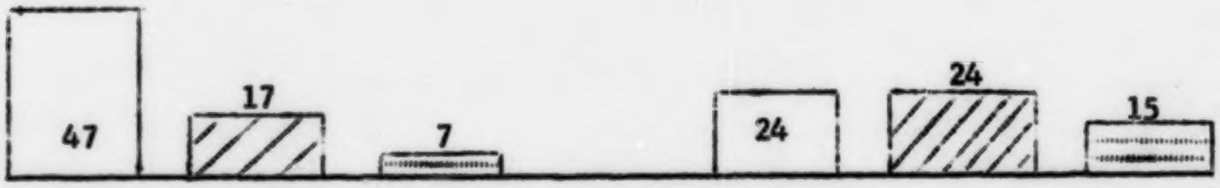
*A national sample survey, to be published, has been completed by Gary Steiner and Bernard Berelson for the Columbia Broadcasting System. It repeatedly demonstrates that more outspoken and more severe criticism of television comes from the better-educated part of the populace. See also W. Schramm's analysis of the Milwaukee Journal Consumer Survey questions on parents' opinions of television. This shows that better-educated parents are much more likely to be able to name some undesirable thing they feel their child has learned from television.

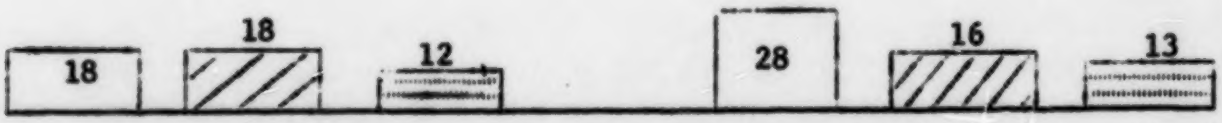
PER CENT WHO HAVE ATTENDED CONCERTS THIS WINTER



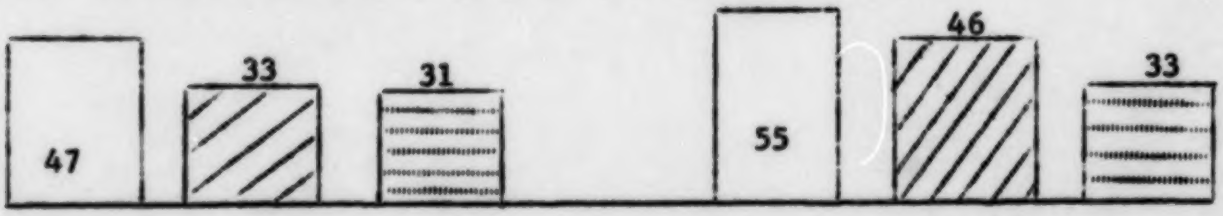
PER CENT WHO HAVE ATTENDED LECTURES THIS WINTER



PER CENT WHO HAVE ATTENDED DISCUSSION GROUPS OR EVENING CLASSES THIS WINTER



PER CENT WHO HAVE ATTENDED CIVIC MEETINGS THIS WINTER



The meaning of these results is quite clear: if a person is in the audience of educational television, he is more likely (than non-viewers) to be active in the cultural and civic affairs of his community. It is true, of course, that attending such events is normative for those in white-collar social status -- that is, cultural and civic activity is considered a good, a desirable, thing to do. Since we have already noted that viewing ETV is related to white-collar status, it might be argued that the relationship between viewing ETV and being active in civic and cultural affairs is artifactual. We mean by this that an upper-status person would tend to be culturally and civically active whether or not he views educational television. And this is true. But the data contain another fact of great importance: the relationship between viewing ETV and attending cultural and civic events holds, not only for the white-collar group, but also within the blue-collar group! We shall discuss this a few pages farther on, under the heading of "The Deviants". Meanwhile, we can be quite confident that cultural and civic activity is one of the distinguishing characteristics of the educational television audience.

6. If there is one viewer of educational television in a family, there are likely to be other viewers in the family also.

Viewing of ETV goes by families. In the large study of children and television mentioned earlier,[*] it was found that television viewing is most often a family affair. In particular, parental viewing is a great predictor of, and apparently a strong influence on, children's viewing.[**] These studies of the educational television audience show that the viewing of ETV follows this same pattern. In each of the six communities, if one member of a family is an ETV-viewer, the odds are quite good that other members of the family are also viewers of ETV. Conversely, if a person is not a viewer, the chances are strong that no one else in the family is a viewer. Here are these figures from the Dixie network interviews:

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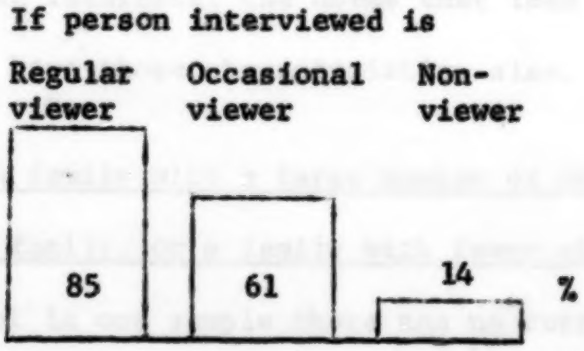
[*] Schramm, W., Lyle, J., Parker, E. B., op. cit., pp. 267-68

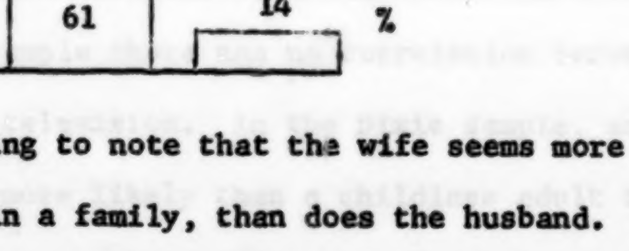
[**] Ibid., pp. 47-48

PROPORTION OF CASES IN WHICH SOMEONE ELSE IN FAMILY VIEWS ETV
(Dixie network)



It is interesting to note that the wife seems more often to be the source of "ETV contagion" in a family, than does the husband. For example, when we ask regular viewers whether anyone else in their family watches educational television, if we are talking to the husband, the chances are a little better than even that his wife will be a viewer of ETV also; but if we are talking to the wife, then the chances are only about four in ten that the husband will be a viewer. For example, these figures from Schooltown:

PROPORTION OF CASES IN WHICH REGULAR VIEWER'S
SPOUSE IS ALSO A VIEWER OF ETV
(Schooltown)



And if the mother alone is a viewer, it is a bit more likely that the children will be viewers than if the father alone is a viewer.

This "social contagion" seems to spread not only through the family, but among the family's friends also. Over half the viewers said they know that some of their friends watch educational television. By contrast, only a small minority of the non-viewers could say that they knew of some of their friends viewing ETV. This is not surprising because people tend to make friends in their own social and cultural groups. If one person has the education, the tastes, the interests, the norms that lead him to watch ETV, his friends are likely to have those characteristics also.

7. A family with a large number of children is more likely than a childless family, or a family with fewer children, to make use of ETV.

Except in one sample there was no correlation between being a parent and viewing educational television. In the Dixie sample, an adult who had any children at all was more likely than a childless adult to be in the ETV audience. But while parenthood did not turn out in the other studies to be a predictor of ETV viewing, the number of children did. On the average, those who are viewers of educational television prove to have more children than those who are not viewers. The differences, of course, wash out in taking medians of medians, so the absolute difference was not large -- about 1.4 children for each viewing family, 1.2 for each non-viewing family. But the relationship held for each of the six studies.

There is also some evidence that the age of children makes some difference in the likelihood of a family using ETV. Families that are in the ETV audience are more likely than non-viewing families to have children of elementary school or junior high school age. There is no such difference when the family has high school children. In two of the studies -- Westville and Dixie -- viewing families tended much more often than non-viewing families to have children of preschool age. This was not the case in the other four areas. It is a temptation to relate this to the amount of children's programing on the stations, for Westville had the largest percentage of such programing among the stations' studies. However, it must be noted that the Dixie network had the second lowest percentage of children's programing, even though, in the Dixie stations' 14-hour broadcast day, this still added up to a considerable time spent on children's programs.

8. An educational television viewer is likely to be a person who goes purposefully to the receiving set for a single program which he knows will be on at a certain time.

We observed this in interviewing people to find out the programs they watched during the previous week. There were very few ETV viewers who reported that they simply turned on the educational station and "let it play" for the evening. Most viewers seemed to know when a particular program was coming, and went purposefully to the set at that time. They tended to be "one program" viewers. They would watch the desired program, then turn the set off or tune to another station. This is not to say that all ETV viewers behaved this way, and it is also worth noting that sometimes the program to which they went so purposefully was one like "Open End" which lasted two to three hours. But they typically went for single programs.

To supplement this evidence we asked the respondents in five studies to reflect back on their use of educational television, and answer the question:

WHEN YOU VIEW EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION, DO YOU USUALLY
TUNE IN THE STATION TO SEE WHAT IS ON, OR TUNE
IN TO HEAR A SPECIFIC PROGRAM THAT YOU KNEW WAS ON?

	Tune to See What Is On	Tune for Specific Program	No answer
Eastbury	14%	74%	12%
Westville	17	74	9
Middlewest State	25	73	2
Eastern U.	10	80	10
Dixie Network	27	65	8

The question is, whether this television behavior is characteristic of the kind of people who view ETV, or whether it is an effect of the kind of programs that are to be found on ETV. Our conclusion, after talking to a number of viewers in an attempt to answer this question, is that it is probably a function of both. Viewers with more education are more likely to exhibit this purposeful selection of programs, whether with educational or entertainment television. On the other hand, it seems that viewers, regardless of education, are likely to be more purposeful and selective with ETV than with CTV.

If viewers tend to go to educational television for specifically preselected programs, then it becomes important to know how they inform themselves of the programs. About two out of three say they rely on the newspaper. About one in five say they depend on the station's program guide.

PREVIOUS STUDIES OF AUDIENCE CHARACTERISTICS

These findings about the nature of educational television agree with the great majority of previous studies of individual station audiences, so far as these studies go into the variables which we have discussed. Thirteen of these studies are reviewed in The Impact of Educational Television.* The results of these earlier studies can be tabulated this way:

Ten out of the 13 studies concluded that ETV viewers are better educated, on the average, than non-viewers.

Ten of the 13 studies concluded that ETV-viewers are more likely than non-viewers to come from the white-collar, middle- and upper-class part of society.

All the nine studies which went into this matter concluded that viewers are more likely than non-viewers to participate in community cultural and civic events.

All the nine studies which went into it concluded that viewers of ETV are also more likely to indulge in serious reading and other "highbrow" communication.

This is an encouraging amount of agreement, but it is not unanimous in all respects. In particular, the three studies that do not follow the general trend seem to demand some explaining. One of these studies is of the station that we have called Eastbury. Another is of a university station, and a third is of ETV-viewing in a small southern town. These studies lined up as follows:

	Education	Social Status	Cultural,Civic Participation	Serious Mass Media
University	No relation	No relation	Related	Related
Small town	No relation	No relation	Related	Related
Eastbury	No relation	No relation	Did not consider	Did not consider

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*Schramm, W., editor. The Impact of Educational Television. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, pp. 30, and passim.

It has been somewhat puzzling that these three studies do not agree with the great majority of the others in the conclusion that more education and higher social status are more likely to go with the viewing of educational television. We are in position to reconsider why these studies might have come out as they did, in terms of the much greater amount of data we now have available, and especially in view of our ability, with these data, to study the viewers who seem to be deviants from the general pattern.

WHAT ABOUT THE DEVIANTS?

There are many people in the educational television audience who would seem, on the basis of the characteristics we have so far identified, not to belong there. These people do not have many years of education. Or they are of blue-collar, rather than white-collar, status. Or not active in cultural or civic things. Or not readers of books or other serious prose. And still they are viewers of ETV. We call these people deviants, because they seem to deviate from the pattern.

The most interesting of these deviant groups is made up of the people who are in blue-collar jobs and who, for the most part, have less than college education. There is good reason for thinking that norms regarding television differ as between these lower-status people, and the higher-status people who, mostly, hold white-collar jobs and have college education.[*] The difference seems to run like this:

White-collar class	Values work and self-improvement -- "delayed gratification"	Therefore is suspicious of entertainment television	But approves educational television and serious reading
Blue-collar class	Values enjoyment and relaxation -- "immediate gratification"	Therefore is suspicious of mass media that demand work and study	But is grateful for and approves of entertainment television

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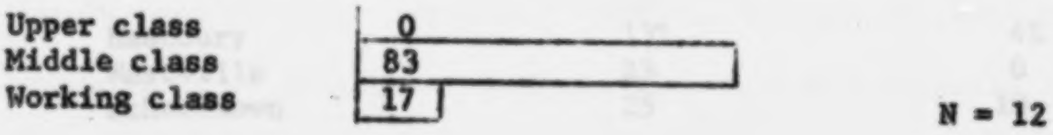
[*] For this evidence, see Schneider and Lysgaard, *op. cit.*; *The Impact of Educational Television*, *op. cit.*, and especially the article by Geiger and Sokol in that volume.

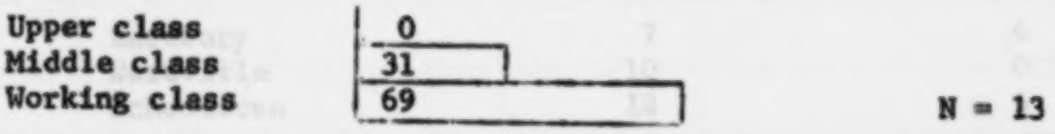
To the extent that this is true, blue-collar workers are going against their class norms when they view ETV. And yet there are a number of such persons who are regular viewers of ETV. How can we explain this?

It is interesting to find evidence that a number of the blue-collar viewers of educational television are upwardly mobile -- that is, persons trying to raise their position in the community, and to that extent, at least, rejecting their own group. Here, for example, are the answers to a question asked of a number of such deviants. These were people who held (or whose husband held) a blue-collar job, and who had less than college education, but who nevertheless were regular viewers of ETV. They were asked whether they would rate themselves as belonging to the upper class, middle class, or working class. They answered as follows:

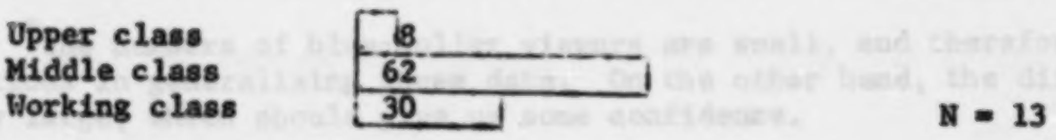
Proportion of Schooltown blue-collar viewers who rated themselves as



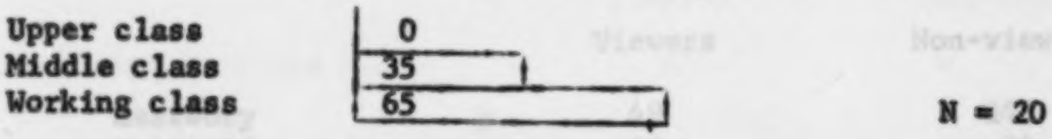
Proportion of Schooltown blue-collar non-viewers rating themselves as



Proportion of Westville blue-collar viewers rating themselves as



Proportion of Westville blue-collar non-viewers rating themselves as



It is clear that a much larger proportion of viewers than of non-viewers, in

the blue-collar group, rate themselves higher than the social status to which they objectively seem to belong. There is no such difference in the white-collar group; they distribute themselves among classes in about the same proportion, whether they are viewers or not. Therefore, a perfectly good hypothesis to explain some of the deviance is that a certain number of these blue-collar ETV-viewers are yearning upward in the social structure and are therefore really operating under the norms of the white-collar class, rather than the blue-collar class.*[*]

Now let us look at some of the evidence on cultural, civic, and political activity on the part of these blue-collar viewers of ETV.

CULTURAL AND CIVIC ACTIVITY BY BLUE-COLLAR GROUPS

	Viewers[**]	**Non-Viewers[**]**
ATTENDED CONCERTS		
Eastbury	**13%**	**4%**
Westville	**23**	**0**
Schooltown	**25**	**10**
ATTENDED LECTURES		
Eastbury	**7**	**4**
Westville	**10**	**0**
Schooltown	**18**	**5**

---

[*] The numbers of blue-collar viewers are small, and therefore we must be cautious in generalizing these data. On the other hand, the differences are very large, which should give us some confidence.

[**] These percentages are based on the following sample sizes:

	Viewers	**Non-viewers**
Eastbury	**49**	**248**
Westville	**83**	**70**
Schooltown	**167**	**258**

CULTURAL AND CIVIC ACTIVITY BY BLUE-COLLAR GROUPS (continued)

	Viewers	Non-Viewers
ATTENDED DISCUSSION GROUPS		
Eastbury	20	4
Westville	0	0
Schooltown	13	6
ATTENDED CIVIC MEETINGS		
Eastbury	40	26
Westville	31	5
Schooltown	18	11
DISCUSS POLITICS OFTEN		
Schooltown (others not asked)	58	25

These are most impressive trends. They indicate that blue-collar viewers of ETV tend in this respect at least to be more like white-collar viewers than like non-viewers of their own class: that is, viewers are much more likely than non-viewers to do all these things that indicate cultural and civic interest and energy. Furthermore, blue-collar viewers are more likely than non-viewers to perceive themselves as opinion leaders. Asked this question, "Compared to other people, would you say you are more or less likely than others to be asked to give advice on such matters as politics or public issues?", more viewers than non-viewers answered in the affirmative.

Now let us look at the reading behavior of the blue-collar deviants.

READING BEHAVIOR OF BLUE-COLLAR GROUPS

	Viewers	Non-viewers
MEDIAN NUMBER OF BOOKS READ IN LAST SIX MONTHS		
Eastbury	0	0
Westville	5	0
Schooltown	4	0

READING BEHAVIOR OF BLUE-COLLAR GROUPS (continued)

	Viewers	Non-viewers
MEDIAN NUMBER OF MAGAZINES READ REGULARLY		
Eastbury	2	1
Westville	3	0
Schooltown	2	1

Here, once again, we find the blue-collar viewers behaving in the white-collar pattern. This is shown still more dramatically by dividing the blue-collar sample into four groups on the basis of their television and print use:

15% High TV Low print 58%	47% High TV High print 21%	Viewers Non-viewers
15% Low TV Low print 16%	23% Low TV High print 5%	

These are striking differences. Within the blue-collar group, non-viewers conform to the expected pattern: the majority of them fall into the high TV - low print category. But the percentage of blue-collar *viewers* in that box is little more than one-fourth as large as that of non-viewers. The blue-collar *viewers*, just like the white-collar viewers, tend to be high readers of print.

So what do we find? The blue-collar deviants are deviants by classification, rather than by behavior. By occupation and education they are classified with a social group that does not especially value educational television. But they yearn, many of them, to be upwardly mobile in society. They not only reject their class; they also reject many of its norms and customs. They not only go against its norm with regard to television; they also behave unlike most blue-collar people in their use of print, and their cultural and civic activity. In other words, these deviants are classified as blue-collar workers, but they behave in all these other respects like white-collar people.

If a person has college education and a white-collar job, the odds are good that he may also read books, be active in cultural and civic life, -- and view educational television, if it is available to him. If he has less than college education, and if he has a blue-collar occupation, then the odds are good that he may not view ETV unless he engages in the rest of the behavior we have now come to associate with ETV-viewing -- cultural and civic activity, and serious reading. If he does demonstrate this part of the "ETV syndrome" then, regardless of his education or his occupation, we have good reason to suspect that he is rejecting the norms we might expect him to follow, and will very likely be a viewer of ETV, if it is available to him, and if he tries it.

We have at least an idea, then, as to how blue-collar people fit into what might be a predominantly white-collar, high-education audience. But how was it possible that three stations would attract large enough numbers of such people as to skew their educational and occupational distribution? We suspect that such people often tend not to "find" ETV, or not to give it a serious trial. But for the Eastbury station we have the hypothesis previously stated: that blue-collar men were attracted by the station's athletic programs, and a number of them liked what they saw and stayed in the audience. We know that the Houston station also programed athletics and exciting civic events which could have helped attract viewers. For the third station we have no programing information. But this, at least, seems to stand out in our brief look at the deviants: that there are doubtless many more potential viewers of educational television than we should expect to find, on the basis of our rather highbrow picture of the audience -- high education, high occupation, high cultural behavior, high civic activity, highly serious use of the mass media, and so forth. We must remember that not every viewer has all those characteristics, or even most of them. People who *do* have all or most of these characteristics will probably find their way to educational television unassisted. Those who don't have all or most of these characteristics must often be helped to find the way.

WHAT VIEWERS AND NON-VIEWERS THINK THE AUDIENCE IS LIKE

We have spoken of a "highbrow" picture of the ETV audience. It is appropriate, now, to inquire whether the concept of the ETV audience as "highbrow" is a common one.

In all six studies, we asked respondents in the home interviews to fill out a series of descriptive statements of the semantic differential type.

They were given thirteen adjectives taken from previous unstructured comments concerning educational television --

ambitious
interesting
youthful
snobbish
"egghead"
comfortable
highly educated
intellectual
public-spirited
insecure
successful
dull
"going places"

For each of these they were asked to say whether "people who watch educational television" are *not at all*, *somewhat*, *quite*, or *very* (ambitious, interesting, and so forth). Then they made corresponding judgments on "people who watch regular commercial television but do not watch educational television."

The most interesting comparison, of course, is how the viewers and non-viewers, respectively, of ETV saw the ETV audience. And a most reassuring result is that neither viewers nor non-viewers saw the audience as "egghead" or snobbish or dull, epithets which have plagued many cultural endeavors. To each of these adjectives the most common response, from viewers or non-viewers, was "not at all". This despite the fact that both groups see ETV-viewers as "quite intellectual" and "highly educated".

In general the two pictures are surprisingly alike. Both viewers and non-viewers tend to see the viewers of ETV as

quite interesting
quite intellectual
quite public-spirited
quite ambitious
quite successful
quite comfortable
quite highly educated
quite likely to be "going places"

somewhat youthful

not at all snobbish
not at all "egghead"
not at all insecure
not at all dull

How do they compare the viewer with the non-viewer? They agree that the non-viewer of ETV (the viewer of commercial television) is a little less highly educated, a little less intellectual, a little less ambitious,[*] a little less likely to be "going places", and a (very) little less public-spirited. In regard to all these the modal response applied to ETV-viewers was "quite", to the non-ETV viewer (but commercial viewer) "somewhat". They did not entirely agree as to how interesting, successful, and youthful the non-ETV viewer is. The non-viewers of ETV described a non-viewer as quite interesting, successful, and youthful; the viewers of ETV described the non-viewer as "somewhat" interesting, successful, and youthful. It is interesting to notice that all the standard traits of white-collar norms are attributed unanimously to the viewers of ETV, but not so unanimously to the non-viewers.

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[*] This is interesting in view of what we have said about upward mobility and about the self-betterment norm.

A REMARKABLE AUDIENCE

This is a remarkable audience, representing highly, as it does, the best-educated people in the community, the people with the professional and managerial jobs, the people who are most active in civic and cultural affairs, the people who are the serious and purposeful users of the mass media -- representing all these, and still managing to avoid the stereotype of being called "egghead" or "snobbish". It is an audience which any television broadcaster should be happy to have, and which any community organization, educational institution, or state commission should be proud to serve. Yet we must note what this audience is not. For one thing, it is not large, by commercial standards; it is a selective, rather than a mass audience. Secondly, it does not represent equally all levels of society. From time to time there has been talk about educational television coming to be the "poor man's university", the device by which the less-educated members of society can make up for missed opportunities. This it has not so far proved to be. It is serving chiefly the better-educated members of society, the members who are already more socially and culturally active and have learned already to use the mass media as a source of serious and thoughtful information. Meanwhile, the less-educated members are more likely to sit with their Westerns, their mysteries, and their domestic comedies. If educational television is to extend its service broadly to the less-educated members of society, then it might well reflect on how blue-collar viewers were attracted in such considerable numbers to a station like Eastbury, and how the men and women whom we have in this chapter called "blue-collar deviants" began to make use of educational broadcasts.

6. WHAT PROGRAMS DO THEY VIEW?

If the stations we have studied are representative ones, then the educational television broadcaster can expect that his big program of the week will attract 30 per cent or more of his regular viewers. He can expect two or three of his programs to attract 20 per cent or more of those regular viewers, and perhaps 12 programs to attract more than 10 per cent.

Translating these figures into percentages of total audience, we see that a program like "Open End" which attracts about 40 per cent of the regular viewers of the Westville station would therefore be attracting about 9 or 10 per cent of the total adult audience in Westville. And we have supporting evidence for this, because "Open End" has been frequently given a program rating of 7 to 10 in Westville by the commercial rating agencies. On the other hand, a program like the Civil War series which attracts about 16 per cent of the regular viewers of the Dixie network would have a little less than 2 per cent of the total adult audience in the coverage area of the three Dixie stations. A program like "Ragtime Era" which attracts about 30 per cent of the regular viewers of the Schooltown station would have about 4 per cent of the total Schooltown adult audience.

This is the order of magnitude of program audiences on educational television. A community program rating of 10 is relatively enormous for an ETV program. A rating of 4 is extraordinarily good. Most ETV programs have an over-all sets-in-use rating in the neighborhood of 1 -- meaning that about 1 per cent of sets are tuned to them. The programs that educational television puts in its prime time are competitive in program rating with daytime commercial television (ratings of 2 to 10). There is nothing on ETV that attracts the large audience commercial television gets with its favorite

Westerns, crime mysteries, adventure, and popular music programs.

These figures should be kept in mind throughout this chapter when we talk about the audiences for educational programs, because we shall be talking in terms of percentages of an ETV station's regular viewers -- these being the percentages we have, and any projection from them to over-all program ratings being necessarily less reliable than the basic figures themselves.

THE MOST POPULAR PROGRAMS

In pointing out that ETV program audiences are smaller than the audiences of many commercial programs, we are not implying that things should be otherwise. As we said early in this report, television is both a great entertainment medium and a great educational medium. Educational television does a large part of its educational job in the daytime hours, broadcasting to school classes, multiplying the effect of expert teaching and outstanding teaching demonstrations. In this service, as in all school teaching, it has a captive audience. When it extends its educational service into the late afternoon and evening hours, when it no longer serves a captive audience, when it competes in the hours of relaxation with entertainment television, then it cannot realistically be expected to attract large numbers of the general public away from less demanding alternatives. Yet we are concerned with ascertaining what ETV programs are most competitive in the entertainment hours, because the goal of ETV is still to furnish an educational and informative service to the largest number of people who can profit by it.

At the time we made these studies, "Open End", David Susskind's weekly discussion program, was apparently the leader among ETV programs. It was offered in three of the six areas we studied. In Westville it was the most popular ETV program, attracting 40 per cent of the station's regular viewers.

It was also the most popular ETV program in Eastbury, where it gained 24 per cent of the regular viewers. In Schooltown, with 29 per cent, of the regular viewers, it was a close second to another ETV program.

Let us note some of the other most popular programs. They included:

Public affairs programs -- such as "Profile Westville", a program discussing currently hot public issues, which drew 30 per cent of regular viewers in Westville.

Practical programs -- "Backyard Farmer", which drew 40 per cent of regular viewers in the Middlewest State audience; "House and Home", which drew 23 per cent of regular viewers in the same audience; "Legally Speaking", which drew 18 per cent in Eastbury.

Musical programs -- "Casals Master Class", which, with two repeats,[*] in one week drew 27 per cent of the Westville regular audience; "Capstone Concert", which drew 21 per cent of regulars in the territory of the Dixie Network; "Ragtime Era", a program of popular music of forty years ago which drew 30 per cent of regular viewers in the city of the program's origin, Schooltown.

Dramatic programs -- "Robert Herridge Theater", which drew 23 per cent in Westville.[**]

Popularized science programs -- "Animals of the Seashore", and "Moon, Planets, Stars", which drew 19 per cent each in Middlewest State and Westville, respectively.

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[*] The extraordinary audience this program was able to draw during the week seems to justify the Westville policy of repeating an outstanding program several times.

[**] It was unfortunate that "The Age of Kings" was not yet on the air during the period of our study. This outstanding dramatic series (distributed by NET) apparently attracted large and enthusiastic audiences.

Popularized history -- "Civil War", and "Redman's America", which drew 16 per cent each in the Dixie Network and Schooltown areas, respectively.

General cultural program -- "Heritage", a series of visits with great Americans, that drew 18 per cent of Middlewest State regular viewers.

Among others, only slightly less popular than the ones we have named, are a review of the world press, a program on the religions of man, a program on archaeology, and a series of miscellaneous interviews.

MOST POPULAR PROGRAMS OF FIVE ETV AUDIENCES

Programs drawing 40% or more of regular viewers	Eastbury	Dixie Network	Middlewest State	Schooltown	Westville
			Backyard Farmer		Open End
30 - 39%				Ragtime Era	Profile Westville
20 - 29%	Open End	Capstone Concert	House and Home Great Plains Trilogy	Open End	Casals Master Class Robert Herridge Theater
10 - 19%	Legally Speaking Farm Facts The Greeks Had a Word for It Children's Corner Eastbury Roundtable Face the People	Civil War Stones and Bones Living Arts and Crafts Music Box Let's Learn More Time to Grow Family Challenge	Evening Prelude Animals of the Seashore Casals Your Unicameral Religions of Man Heritage Shakespeare Layman's Guide to Modern Art Band Concert Conference on World Tensions University News Elementary Science	Redman's America Spanish Decision Income Tax Guide Invitation to Art	Concert Hall Moon, Planets, Stars World Press Review Kaleidoscope Scotch Gardener Science Reporter Casals Master Class This Week in Science Portrait in Music Heritage UN Review Inquiring Mind

Altogether, it must seem to be a most extraordinarily diverse list of programs. This, however, is a characteristic of television. Everyone who studies program audiences is amazed at the diversity of individual choice. Thus Dr. Himmelweit, studying several thousand English children, of nearly the same age, reported that she could find no program on which as many as 10 per cent could agree was a favorite.* We ourselves have been examining lists of "five favorite television programs" selected by a large sample of residents of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. There is so little agreement in the lists that it is hard to find enough correlation for the factor analysis we had hoped to make, in order to cluster the choices.** It is a fact of life that television program tastes are diverse.

Therefore, the fact that 30 or 40 per cent of the viewers of an educational station can agree on watching a particular program is really a remarkable event. Such a program must have characteristics that appeal to the central tendency we have noted in educational television viewers, and if it is desired to enlarge program audiences for ETV these characteristics might well be studied in detail.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF AUDIENCES

An interesting question is whether the chief audience differences are between stations or between programs. Educational stations, because they are the kinds of stations they are, and serve the kind of cultural area they serve, doubtless attract different audiences. Different kinds of programs also attract different audiences, regardless of where they are presented. We are not prepared to say which makes the greater difference, but we can say that both these statements are true. Station audiences are different, and program audiences are different.

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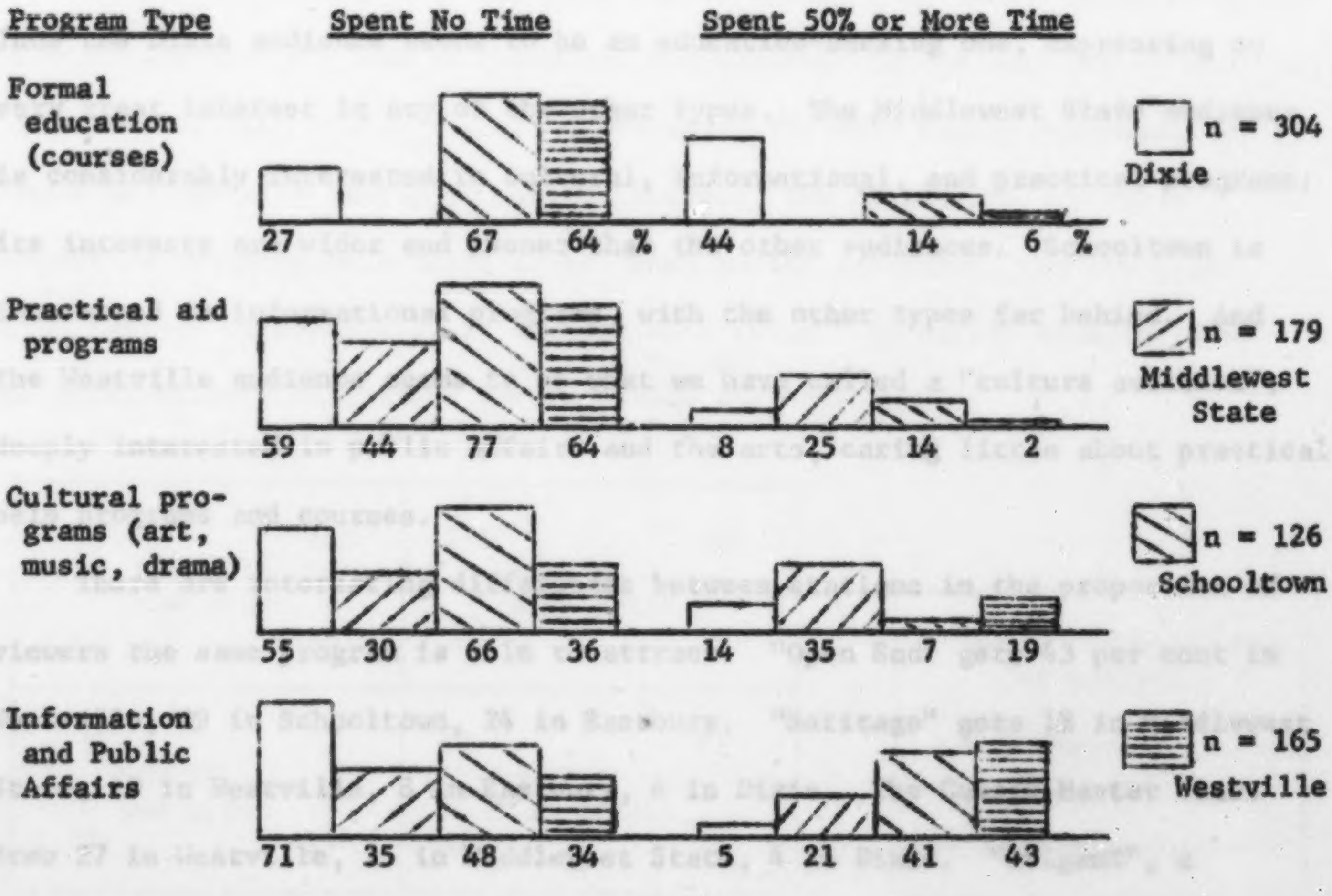
*Himmelweit, H., Oppenheim, A. N., and Vince, P. Television and the Child. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958.

**This is from data gathered in connection with the Milwaukee Journal Consumer Analysis, and made available by the Milwaukee Journal Company.

Let us first analyze some of the differences between station audiences. Suppose we take the four general categories of educational programs on each of which considerable segments of the educational audience reported that they spent some time during the previous week. These figures are comparable for four of the studies -- Dixie, Middlewest State, Schooltown, and Westville. For each category of programs we shall record what percentage of the viewers in each area spent no time on those programs, and what percentage spent half or more of their ETV time on it.

CHOICE OF PROGRAM CATEGORIES BY AUDIENCES OF DIFFERENT STATIONS



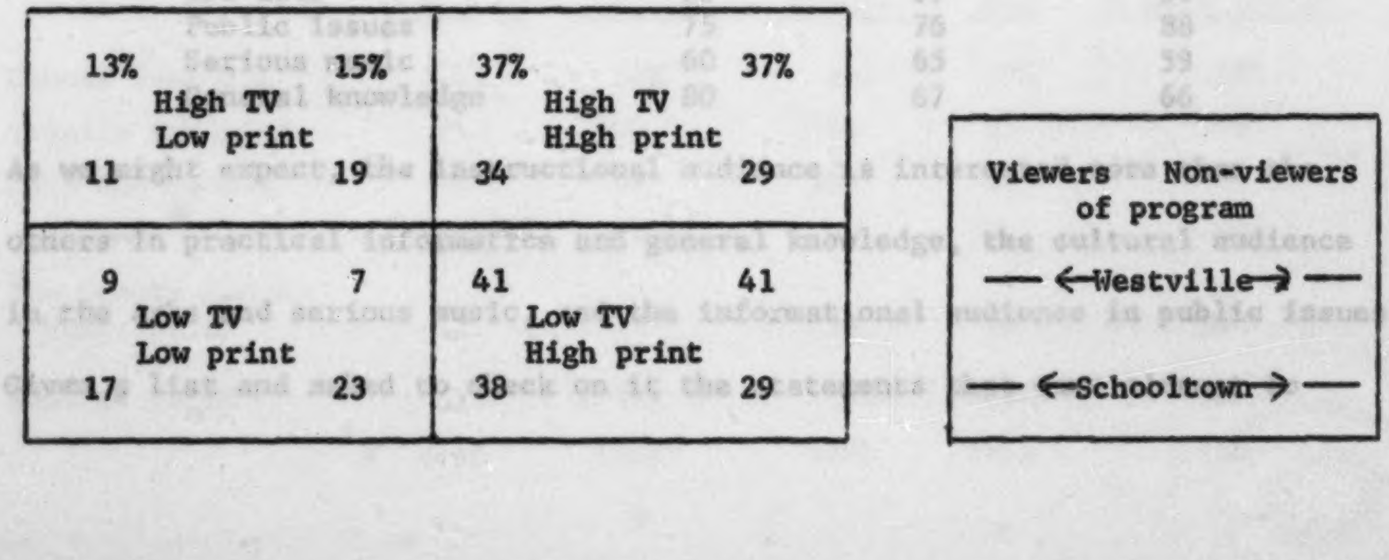
This chart strongly supports the argument that there are audience differences between stations. It is apparent that the Dixie network audience is more interested than the others in television adult courses. The Middlewest State audience is more interested in practical aid programs (as their heavy viewing of "Backyard Farmer" and "House and Home" suggests). Middlewest State and Westville seem most interested in cultural programs (art, music, and drama); whereas Schooltown and Westville seem most interested in information and public affairs programs. In order of interest, the four station audiences could be ranked thus:

	Dixie	Middlewest State	Schooltown	Westville
1.	Courses	Cultural	Information	Information
2.	Cultural	Information	Courses	Cultural
3.	Practical	Practical	Practical	Courses
4.	Information		Cultural	Practical

Thus the Dixie audience seems to be an education-seeking one, expressing no very great interest in any of the other types. The Middlewest State audience is considerably interested in cultural, informational, and practical programs; its interests are wider and evener than the other audiences. Schooltown is interested in informational programs, with the other types far behind. And the Westville audience seems to be what we have called a "culture audience", deeply interested in public affairs and the arts, caring little about practical help programs and courses.

There are interesting differences between stations in the proportion of viewers the same program is able to attract. "Open End" gets 43 per cent in Westville, 29 in Schooltown, 24 in Eastbury. "Heritage" gets 18 in Middlewest State, 13 in Westville, 8 in Eastbury, 4 in Dixie. The Casals Master Class drew 27 in Westville, 15 in Middlewest State, 4 in Dixie. "Origami", a program on Japanese paper-cutting, got 9 in Westville, 7 in Middlewest State, 1 in Dixie. "Great Problems of Conscience" drew 8 in Westville, 2 in Eastbury.

In three station areas -- Westville, Eastbury, and Schooltown -- we have enough viewers of "Open End" to compare the station audiences for the program. The only fair way to do this, of course, is to compare the viewers in each city who watched the program with the viewers in the same city who did not, inasmuch as the three station audiences contain different proportions of college graduates, heavy readers, and the other classifications on which we want to make comparisons. When we do that, we find a considerable amount of similarity in the audiences. For one thing, they all contain more men than women. They all contain book-reading people. The age medians are not far different. But look carefully at the comparisons of people, within the separate station audiences, who do and people who do not view the program, and you will find evidence that "Open End" seems not to mean quite the same thing to Westville that it does to the other two cities. In Eastbury and Schooltown, "Open End" selects out of the regular viewers the more highly educated, the people who are more likely to attend lectures, the people who say their purpose in watching television is to "keep better informed", and the high-print users. In Westville, it does no such thing. Here, for example, are the print-television indices for Westville and Schooltown:



It is obvious that there is very little difference between the viewers and non-viewers of the program in Westville, whereas there are considerable differences in Schooltown. Either the Westville audience is more homogeneous than Schooltown's, or else the program has a somewhat different meaning and attraction to the two audiences.

Now let us look at some of the audiences which different programs attract on the same station.

In Westville there appear to be three distinct audiences, based on their viewing behavior; these we might call the Instructional, the Cultural, and the Informational audiences. They are interestingly different. The cultural audience is youngest, the instructional oldest. The instructional group is more likely than the others to have no children at home. The instructional audience is more active than the others in attending concerts, plays, lectures, and discussion groups, although the cultural audience is more likely to go to civic meetings. Both the instructional and cultural groups watch more ETV than the information audience. Asked what specially interests them on educational television, they say

		Audiences	
	Instructional (n = 20)	Cultural (n = 37)	Informational (n = 85)
Practical information	65%	32%	44%
The arts	55	67	51
Public issues	75	76	88
Serious music	60	65	59
General knowledge	80	67	66

As we might expect, the instructional audience is interested more than the others in practical information and general knowledge, the cultural audience in the arts and serious music, and the informational audience in public issues. Given a list and asked to check on it the statements that came closest to describing their reasons for viewing ETV, the three groups responded in these different ways (this is part of the list only):

	Instructional	Cultural	Informational
For practical aid	40%	0%	21%
To keep better informed	45	62	64
To continue education	45	27	28
Because it is something one should do	15	8	8
For intellectual stimulation	75	67	64

Any such sub-audience as we have selected from the Westville audience will, of course, view more than one kind of program, and any given program will attract persons from more than one sub-audience group. The borders of the sub-audiences are not so clear that members do not cross them. Although programs may attract different types of audience, still there will be some overlaps between audiences. How much overlap is there? Here is a table that shows what percentage of the audience for a given one of five favorite programs on the Eastbury station also views another given program of the five, and what percentage of the audience of each program does not view any of the others. This table should be read like this: "11 per cent of the persons who watch 'Famous Features' also watch 'Legally Speaking'."

PROPORTION OF AUDIENCE SHARED BY FIVE
TOP PROGRAMS ON EASTBURY STATION

	Famous Features	Legally Speaking	Face the People	Open End	The Greeks Had a Word for It
Famous Features	100%	11%	10%	30%	28%
Legally Speaking	15	100	65	35	44
Face the People	8	37	100	17	24
Open End	54	46	40	100	52
The Greeks Had a Word for It	27	31	30	28	100
NONE OF THESE	31%	23%	15%	30%	20%
N	(26)	(35)	(20)	(46)	(25)

It is apparent that there is a great deal more overlap between some programs than others. But perhaps the most interesting line in the table is the lowest one, which shows that nearly one-third of the persons who viewed "Open End" and "Legally Speaking" did not view any of these other four programs.

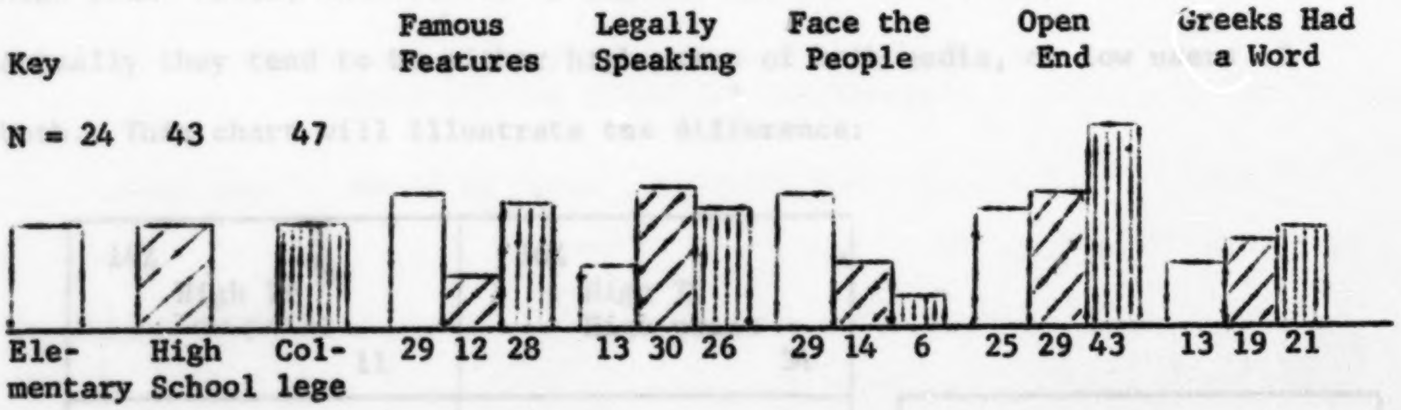
We can tell something about the difference in audiences for these programs by noting what proportion of male and female viewers they attract. This is as follows:

SEX COMPOSITION OF AUDIENCE OF FIVE TOP PROGRAMS ON EASTBURY STATION

	Men	Women	N
Famous Features	55	45	26
Legally Speaking	53	47	35
Face the People	57	43	20
Open End	44	56	46
The Greeks Had a Word	40	60	25

Furthermore, there are interesting differences in educational level, as the following chart shows:

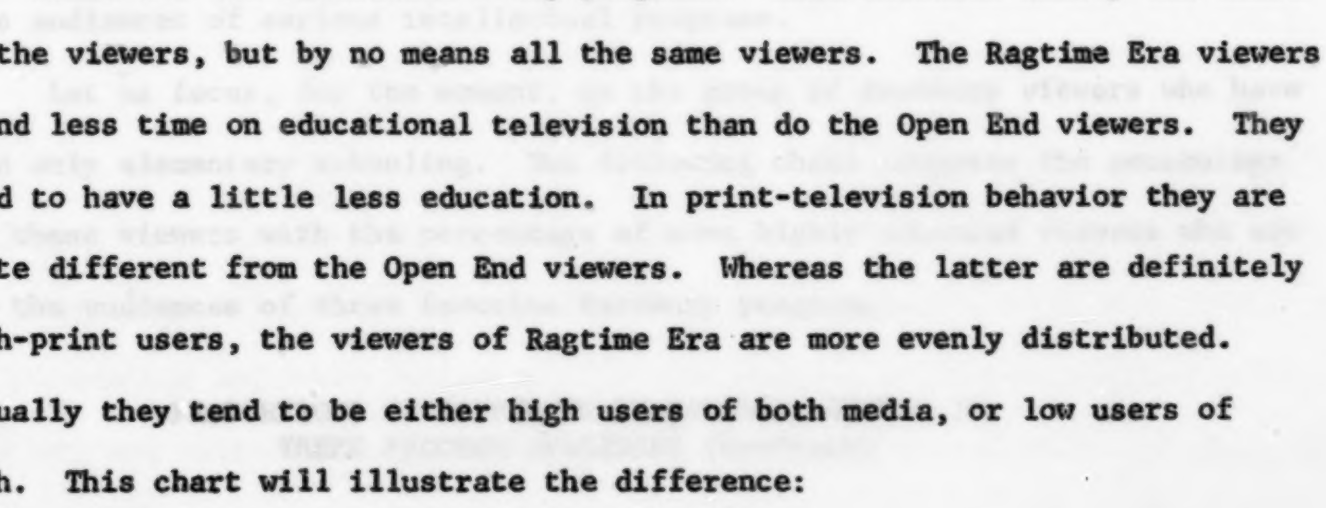
PROPORTION OF AUDIENCE WITH DIFFERENT AMOUNTS OF EDUCATION WHO VIEWED FIVE TOP PROGRAMS ON EASTBURY STATION



The fact that these educational distributions are so strikingly different suggests the possibility of deliberately programing so as to broaden the ETV audience beyond the high educational, culturally active group who are its chief components. As will be seen in the chart just above, "Open End", although nearly half its audience in Eastbury are college educated, still attracts a large number of persons with less education. "Face the People" attracts a larger proportion of viewers with elementary education than any other group. "Famous Features" also attracts large proportions of the less-educated viewers, and "Legally Speaking" is popular with the high school educated group. If programs like these can be judicially mixed with the others, and suitably promoted, it should be quite possible to broaden the audience.

This is apparently what the Schooltown station does by presenting both "Open End" and "Ragtime Era", and may help to explain why Schooltown, for a school board station, has such a comparatively large audience.

These two are Schooltown's top programs. Each attracts nearly one-third of the viewers, but by no means all the same viewers. The Ragtime Era viewers spend less time on educational television than do the Open End viewers. They tend to have a little less education. In print-television behavior they are quite different from the Open End viewers. Whereas the latter are definitely high-print users, the viewers of Ragtime Era are more evenly distributed. Actually they tend to be either high users of both media, or low users of both. This chart will illustrate the difference:



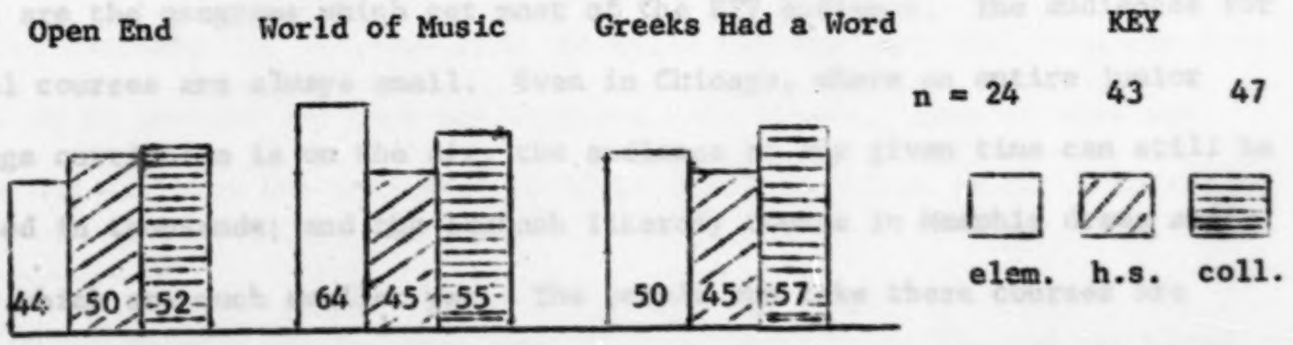
The percentages here credited to the viewers of "Open End" represent typical "highbrow" media behavior. The percentages ascribed to "Ragtime Era" do not. While we do not have enough information to understand these audiences fully, still it is apparent that in Schooltown these programs are bringing different kinds of people into the station audience.

ANOTHER NOTE ON THE DEVIANT AUDIENCE

This is the time to ask whether the so-called deviants -- the less-educated, blue-collar group of viewers -- when they are once attracted to the station by programs such as sports, remain in the audience to view more intellectual programs. Among our audiences, the one that is heaviest in this deviant group is Eastbury. And here the best evidence we can assemble indicates that such viewers apparently are found in substantial proportions in the audiences of serious intellectual programs.

Let us focus, for the moment, on the group of Eastbury viewers who have had only elementary schooling. The following chart compares the percentage of these viewers with the percentage of more highly educated viewers who are in the audiences of three favorite Eastbury programs.

PROPORTIONS OF DIFFERENT EDUCATIONAL GROUPS IN
THREE PROGRAM AUDIENCES (Eastbury)



It is evident that the elementary school viewers (though smaller in absolute numbers) are very well represented in these three audiences. In the "World of Music" audience, the percentage of this group is actually higher than the percentage of either of the other groups. In the case of "The Greeks Had a Word for It", the percentage of elementary school viewers is higher than that of high school viewers, and not far from that of college-educated viewers. In the case of "Open End", the percentages follow the expected pattern -- rising with education -- but the differences between the educational groups are quite small.

Until we have evidence to the contrary, therefore, we are prepared to assume that if an educational station can attract a "deviant" audience of this kind, there is a very good chance that a considerable portion of this audience will come to like the serious intellectual programs of the station. It goes without saying that this is a very important hypothesis for ETV program directors who are seeking to broaden their audiences.

THE AUDIENCE FOR ADULT COURSES

Most of the adults watching educational television are not seeking formal courses. They want programs which, if they have to be called "educational", are only informally educational. They mean programs which offer wide swatches of information and ideas, which fill in the background of events, which present art and culture in such a way as to make them understandable and exciting. These are the programs which get most of the ETV audience. The audiences for formal courses are always small. Even in Chicago, where an entire junior college curriculum is on the air, the audience at any given time can still be counted in thousands; and the Laubach literacy course in Memphis draws audiences which are much smaller yet. The people who take these courses are usually highly motivated, and very few things the station does will probably have more impact. But it will be impact on a limited audience.

Therefore it is interesting to have 9 per cent of the Dixie network viewers,[*] 22 per cent of Schooltown viewers, 17 per cent of Westville viewers, 18 per cent of Eastern U. viewers, and 16 per cent of Middlewest State viewers, report that they had watched all or some of an adult course. (The question was not asked in Eastbury.) Throughout the five stations, about half the viewers, on the average, said they had watched at least one program of a formal adult course. Some of these percentages represent numbers of considerable size. For example, they would mean that in the Westville area perhaps 40,000 persons had watched all or most of an adult course on television.

However, let us say frankly that we think these numbers do not refer only to persons who have taken formal televised courses. There seems little doubt that respondents took a very liberal view of "formal courses" when they answered this question. We asked them, in some cases, to tell us what courses they had followed on television. They would often name such program series as "Japanese Brush Painting", which is not a formal course at all, and is not given for credit. Therefore, we believe that these "course viewers" include large numbers of individuals who have followed systematic presentations of a topic -- not merely formal courses.

Who are these viewers of courses? If we can generalize from the Westville audience, they are likely to be persons who have had some college, but have not finished it; to judge from the Dixie network audience, they are more likely to be persons who have not finished high school. Many of them are people who say that the chance to continue their education is their reason for viewing ETV. More women than men are course-viewers. They tend to be less interested than the average ETV-viewers in public issues, but more interested in acquiring general knowledge and practical information. As might be expected, they are a bit more likely than other viewers to attend evening classes. And they spend more time than does the average viewer, on ETV.

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[*] We are rather puzzled that this figure should be so low for the Dixie audience, inasmuch as the Dixie network carries more course work than any others of our stations; and the Dixie audience reported spending considerable time on adult courses.

SOME IMPLICATIONS

For the station manager, program director, or supporter of educational television, three of the findings in this chapter are of great importance. One is that "wide-band" programs, like "Open End", are available and have proved their ability to attract sizable audiences from different levels of society to educational television. A second is that different educational television programs attract different kinds of audiences, so that, within limits, one can choose the kind of audience he wants to reach by choosing the kind of programs he broadcasts. A third is that less-educated groups can apparently be brought into the audiences of serious high-level programs if they can be attracted to the station by programs they like.

The strategy for educational television, if it wants to build its audiences, should probably include both of these approaches. There should be an attempt to develop widely popular and still educational programs like "Open End". There should be a judicious balancing of programs to serve different segments of the audience. Admitted that we don't know all we need to know about the kinds of audience different programs attract, still we have a good start toward that knowledge, and we do know that the educational audience is a varied thing, composed of groups who are seeking different things and have different education, abilities, and standards. The combining of programs to reach them and satisfy them is a test of the highest skill of the programer.

7. WHY DO THEY VIEW?

Human beings are typically not very articulate in explaining why they do anything -- except that they "like it", or think they "ought to" or "want to". Nor is it easy, either for the layman or the scholar, to understand and explain the reasons for such complex behavior as deciding to view educational television rather than watching entertainment television or selecting any of the other behaviors possible at the moment. Nevertheless it would greatly help us to understand what ETV means in the lives of people, and how it might be made more useful to them, if we could only understand more clearly why they choose to view it.

As a matter of fact, throughout the previous chapters, we have been making assumptions about motivations for viewing. For example, we have talked about the middle-class norm which values self-improvement through work, and therefore tends to cast suspicion on entertainment television and approval on educational television. We have implied that some people may be in the educational television audience because they have internalized the norm and therefore regard ETV as a "good thing" -- as something "one ought to do". But one of the advantages of studying human beings, as contrasted to studying animals or things, is that they can answer questions. There are certain great disadvantages about studying human beings rather than these other subjects, but at least one can ask them to introspect and explain. And this is what we have tried to do with reference to the question of why they view educational television.

What we want to know, of course, is what (if anything) they are seeking when they turn their dials to the educational channel, and what rewards or benefits (if any) they feel they receive from viewing educational programs.

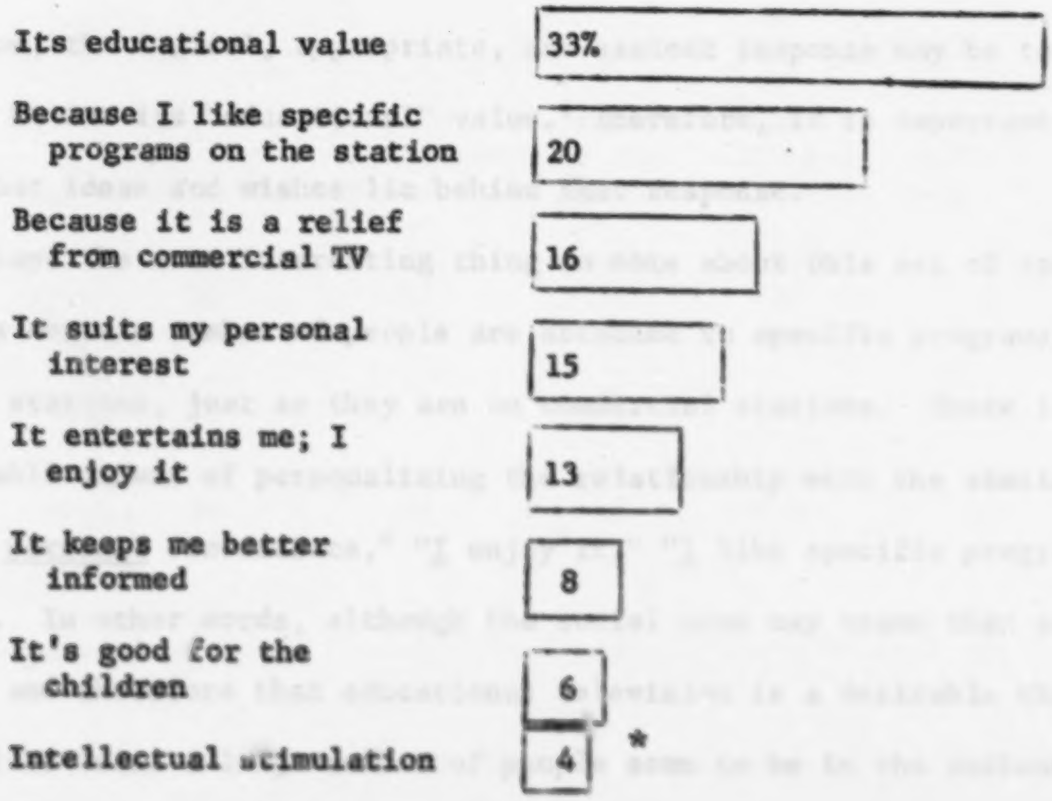
We should like to know whether these motivations and perceived rewards are different for different segments of the total audience, and for different kinds and patterns of ETV.

It might seem that all that would be necessary would be to ask the viewers forthrightly, why do you view ETV? We did this, but aren't satisfied to stop there. The motivation for viewing is probably a complex matter, and one that has not been consciously weighed by most viewers. Therefore, a direct answer of this kind would almost certainly be incomplete, and might be misleading. For this reason we tried to approach the problem from several directions. We inserted a number of questions, some structured, some unstructured, dealing with rewards and motivations, at various points in the interview and in different contexts. Then we studied the answers, one against the other, and analyzed them with such statistical tools as seemed justified. The results of this analysis is what we are going to report in this chapter.

THE DIRECT QUESTION

In four cities we asked the viewers, in the course of their home interviews, the straightforward question, "What would you say are the main reasons why you watch station YYYY when you do so?" (YYYY, of course, being replaced by the call letters of the particular educational station in that community). Our interviewers then took down, as nearly verbatim as possible, the respondents' answers.

These responses were quite varied, and the distribution of answers was somewhat different in different cities, but well over 90 per cent of all the answers could be fitted into the following eight categories:



While the large vote for the educational quality of ETV is impressive, still we must be on our guard about accepting it. Unfortunately, there is no way of really knowing what people had in mind when they said "because it's educational", or something like that. In chapter 5 we saw that only a minority actually followed formal courses on ETV; therefore it seems unlikely that these persons are referring to the formal educational function of ETV. Viewed informally, "education" or "adult education" means different things to different persons. To some people in our sample, it may simply have meant "informative"; to others, it may have called up the image of popularized science; to others it may have meant discussion groups or panels on public issues; and to still others it may have meant exactly what some respondents called "intellectual stimulation". Beyond that, we cannot help expecting that when a person is asked a question about something called educational

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*These answers add to more than 100 because some respondents answered in more than one category.

television, the logical, appropriate, and easiest response may be to say that he views it for its "educational" value. Therefore, it is important to try to see what ideas and wishes lie behind that response.

Perhaps the most interesting thing to note about this set of responses is that a certain number of people are attached to specific programs on educational stations, just as they are on commercial stations. There is also a considerable amount of personalizing the relationship with the station -- "it suits my personal convenience," "I enjoy it," "I like specific programs," and so forth. In other words, although the social norm may teach that education is good, and therefore that educational television is a desirable thing to do, still at least a large number of people seem to be in the audience, not because they ought to, but because they want to. And, finally, we should note that there appears to be a group within the audience who are refugees from some of the things they don't like about commercial television.

HOW THEY FEEL THE STATION HELPS THEM

Attempting to dig a little deeper into these motivations for viewing, we asked the respondents, later in the interview, to tell us in what ways, if any, they felt their local station helped them. An overwhelming proportion of their responses fell into the following five categories, which are rather similar to the categories of the previous answer. We are going to present these results in table form because they contain some interesting differences between stations and within station audiences. (Table on page 107)

There were also a few other types of answers -- among them, "gives me a relief from commercial television", "furnishes cultural programs", "provides helpful (how-to-do-it) programs", and so forth -- but these were in every case less than 5 per cent of the total answers, and have been omitted from the

IN WHAT WAY OR WAYS, IF ANY, DOES STATION YYYY HELP YOU?

	Adds to my education	Intellectual stimulation	Keeps me informed	Entertainment, enjoyment	General positive	General negative
Westville Men	21%	19%	30%	10%	9%	6%
Women	20	21	33	16	9	9
Middlewest State Men and Women	37	6	27	11	8	4
Schooltown Men	32	20	32	20	20	0
Women	38	19	23	0	27	0
Dixie Network						
Men	41	8	18	1	10	13
Women	47	5	18	6	10	10

table. The "general positive" remarks were statements like, "Oh, it's a good station." The "general negative" remarks were like, "It doesn't help me."

The most interesting feature of this station is that the answers no longer cluster so much around the station's educational value, and the answer, "keeps me informed", is now given by almost as many people as give the more generalized response about education. In Westville, particularly, this is the case: "keeps me informed", is mentioned by half again as many persons as mention "education", and "intellectual stimulation" is mentioned by practically the same number as mention "education". It is interesting, though, to notice that the Dixie stations, which carry the largest proportion of courses, also drew the largest "education" response. And there are some differences between men and women -- for example, the fact that Schooltown men, 20 per cent of them, say that ETV provides enjoyment and entertainment, whereas none of the Schooltown women give this answer -- that are fascinating though puzzling.

These answers, of course, are the type we call "open-end". The respondent is asked the question, and his answer is recorded in whatever form he gave it. Later on, we shall report what happened when we gave respondents a choice between answers already prepared for them. But the significance of the answers we have just given is that there apparently are dimensions of "education" beyond formal education in the minds of ETV-viewers when they speak of the station's educational value to them.

WHAT THEY WOULD MISS MOST ABOUT THE STATION

We also asked viewers what they would miss most about the station if they had to do without it. The responses to this question still further subdivided the broad category of "education", as this detailed table will show:

WHAT WOULD YOU MISS MOST IF YOU HAD TO DO WITHOUT STATION YYYY?

	Educational aspects	Specific programs	Intellectual stimulation	Cultural programs	General quality	Nothing
Westville Men	17%	19%	19%	23%	23%	5%
Women	11	26	13	17	21	4
Middlewest State Men and Women	21	25	11	15	15	8
Schooltown Men	12	26	24	8	24	8
Women	27	15	8	8	19	0
Dixie Network Men	28	4	11	11	13	4
Women	33	12	9	10	11	4

Only in the Dixie network audience and among the women of Schooltown is the educational category now the dominant one. The men in Schooltown are more likely to say they would miss specific programs -- principally, "Ragtime Era" and "Open End". They are also much more likely to mention intellectual stimulation and the station's general quality, than to talk about its educational value. In Westville, specific programs ("Open End", in particular), intellectual stimulation, cultural programs, and the general quality of the station, all draw more frequent mentions than the educational aspects of the station. In Middlewest State, specific programs are likewise more likely to be missed than the educational contribution of the station.

What happens to the "keeps me informed" and "entertainment, enjoyment" categories in the responses to this question? It seems likely that this question elicits viewers' ideas of the unique contribution of ETV. The programs on educational television, the qualities of intellectual and cultural stimulation on educational television, are more nearly unique to it. The qualities of informing and entertaining people are shared to a much greater degree with commercial television; and entertainment obviously is much more central in commercial television than in educational.

Answers to this question, however, are significant to persons who work in educational television and to other persons who want to understand it, quite apart from any comparison with other answers. These answers say that the viewers of educational television would miss ETV, first, for specific programs, second, for the educational element it adds to television, third, for the intellectual stimulation and cultural experiences it offers, and, fourth, because of its general high quality as television.

HOW WOULD THEY RECOMMEND THE STATION?

We asked also this question: "If you were going to make the strongest argument to get friends and other people to watch channel BLANK [the educational station], what would you say?"

This question proved to be one that elicited generalized, rather than specific arguments. Educational aspects were most often mentioned, although "to be informed" was a close second. "Because it is more worthwhile than commercial television" was also very frequently mentioned, as were specific programs. A small, but significant number said they would argue that ETV is good for children. The differences between the station audiences stood up in this question as in the others: the Dixie Network people were the most likely to talk about educational values, and the Westville audience least likely to talk about education, most likely to mention information and culture.

THEIR RATIONALES FOR VIEWING

On the basis of information like this, and considering some of the chief categories of educational programing, we then devised a structured question that read like this:

"Here is a list of statements different people have made when asked why they watch educational TV stations like Channel Blank. Would you look through them and give me the number of those statements that come closest to your reason or reasons for watching Channel Blank?"

The respondent was handed a card on which appeared the following statements:

1. It is of practical aid in teaching things I want to do.
2. It helps to keep me better informed.
3. It helps me to continue my education.
4. It is more satisfying than commercial TV.
5. It offers good cultural programs not often available on commercial TV.
6. It is something people like me should do.
7. It sets a good example for my children.
8. It is intellectually stimulating.
9. It fills a void in the cultural life of the community.

You will see that these were written so as to separate out the formal education on ETV from the practical aid, on the one hand, and the general informational and cultural advantages, on the other. They also were intended to sharpen up the comparison with commercial television, and to give people a chance to express any general feeling that they "ought" to be viewing ETV.

Because these answers are rather significant, we are going to reprint the entire table, and also the orders of frequency in which the various responses were given by the different audiences.

RATIONALES FOR VIEWING EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION

	(1) Practical aid	(2) Better informed	(3) Continue education	(4) More satisfying	(5) Cultural programs	(6) Something should do	(7) Example for children	(8) Intellectual stimulation	(9) Fills cultural void
Eastbury men	25%	62%	28%	32%	62%	15%	32%	52%	35%
women	19	47	22	45	57	13	24	43	24
Westville men	21	51	23	37	60	6	13	51	22
women	24	63	28	40	62	13	16	60	23
Middlewest State men and women	21	56	35	30	62	15	20	46	25
Eastern U. men and women	18	58	42	25	72	8	10	58	12
Schooltown men	30	56	24	32	65	24	26	65	30
women	44	45	31	34	56	27	37	65	30
Dixie Network men	30	71	40	23	47	12	24	32	13
women	32	63	37	21	54	22	31	45	18

RANK ORDER OF FREQUENCY OF THESE RESPONSES

	Eastbury		Westville		Middlewest State
Rank	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men and Women
1	5. Cultural programs	5. Cultural programs	5. Cultural programs	2. Better inform	5. Cultural programs
2	2. Better informed	2. Better informed	2. Better informed	5. Cultural programs	2. Better informed
3	8. Intellect. stimulating	4. More satisfying	8. Intellect. stimulating	3. Intellect. stimulating	8. Intellect. stimulating
4	9. Fill cultural void	8. Intellect. stimulating	4. More satisfying	4. More satisfying	3. Continue education
5	5. More satisfying	9. Cultural void	3. Continue education	3. Continue education	4. More satisfying
6	7. Example children	7. Example children	9. Cultural void	1. Practical aid	9. Cultural void
7	3. Continue education	3. Continue education	1. Practical aid	9. Cultural void	1. Practical aid
8	1. Practical aid	1. Practical aid	7. Example children	7. Example children	7. Example children
9	6. Should do	6. Should do	6. Should do	6. Should do	6. Should do

RANK ORDER, continued

Eastbury	Schooltown		Dixie Network		
Men and Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Rank
5. Cultural programs	8. Intellect. stimulating	8 Intellect. stimulating	2. Better informed	2. Better informed	1
2. Better informed	5. Cultural programs	5. Cultural programs	5. Cultural programs	5. Cultural programs	2
8. Intellect. stimulating	2. Better informed	2. Better informed	3. Continue education	8. Intellect. stimulating	3
3. Continue education	4. More satisfying	1. Practical aid	8. Intellect. stimulating	3. Continue education	4
5. More satisfying	1. Practical aid	7. Example children	1. Practical aid	1. Practical aid	5
1. Practical aid	6. Cultural void	4. More satisfying	7. Example children	7. Example children	6
9. Cultural void	7. Example children	3. Continue education	4. More satisfying	6. Should do	7
7. Example children	3. Continue education	9. Cultural void	9. Cultural void	4. More satisfying	8
6. Should do	6. Should do	6. Should do	6. Should do	9. Cultural void	9

A little study of these preceding tables will show that the responses clearly divide into four groups. The most frequent responses were the same in every city, with the exception of one category in one city. We shall therefore call these

Group One

5. It offers good cultural programs not often available on commercial TV.
2. It helps to keep me better informed.
8. It is intellectually stimulating.

There is a second-order group of responses almost as clearly set off as the first one:

Group Two

3. It helps me to continue my education.
4. It is more satisfying than commercial TV.

Next in order of preference is

Group Three

9. It fills a void in the cultural life of the community.
1. It is of practical aid in teaching things I want to do.
7. It sets a good example for my children.

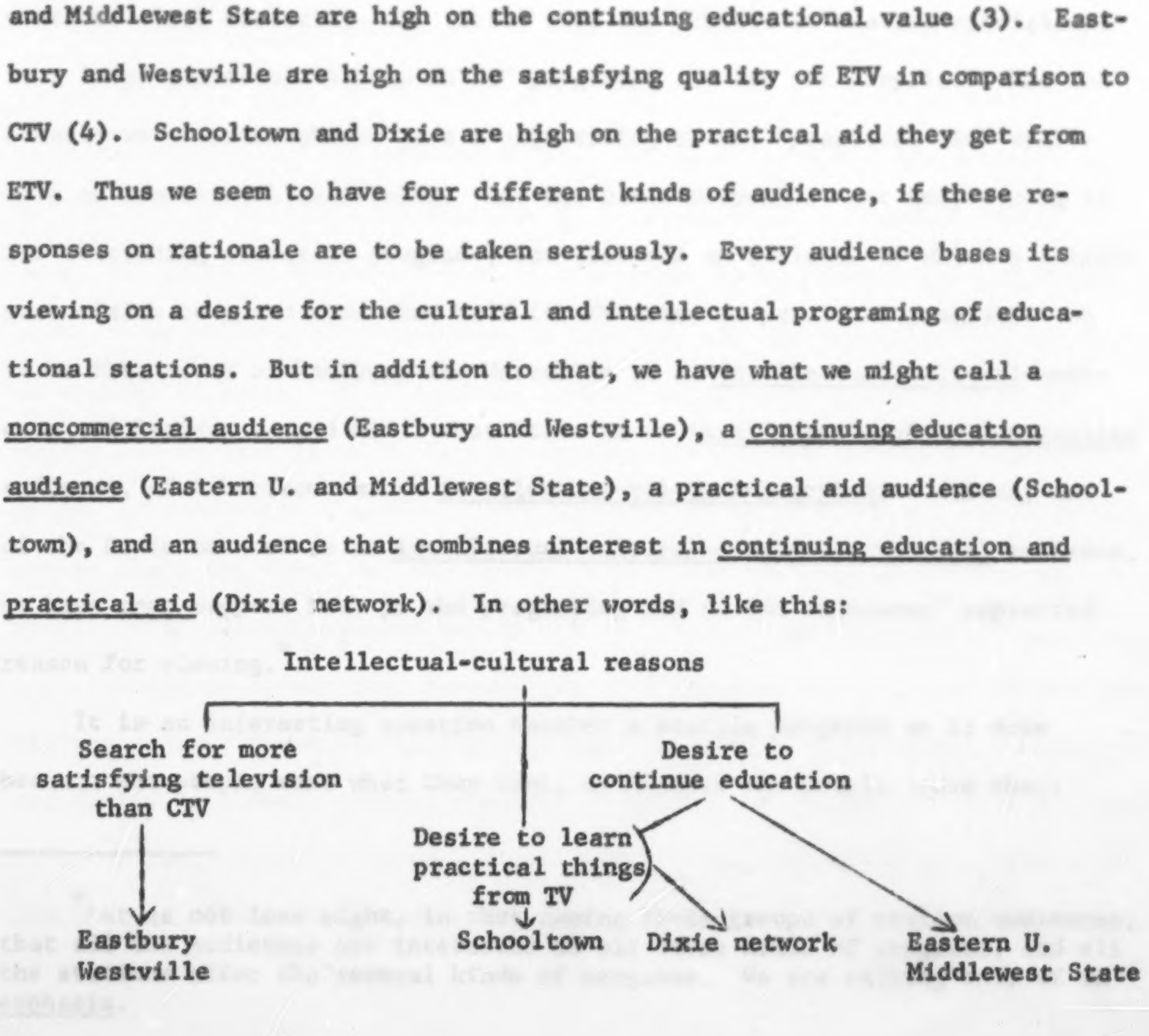
And, finally, at the bottom of every list except one:

Group Four

6. It is something people like me should do.

This is an interesting grouping. Group one, everybody's first choice, seems to indicate that the basic rationale for viewing ETV every place is an intellectual-cultural one: for cultural programs not readily available elsewhere, for intellectual stimulation, and to be kept well informed. Group two, however, is a mixed group, and it is not surprising to find that the station audiences are divided on it -- Westville and Eastbury giving higher place to the fact that ETV is more satisfying than commercial TV, the two university audiences and the Dixie network stressing that it helps to continue an education. Group three is also a mixture of practical and cultural purposes. The practical aid of ETV is emphasized by two audiences considerably more than the others. These are Schooltown and the Dixie network. And Group four is interesting, too. The very great degree of agreement in putting the "something we should do" rationale at the very bottom indicates that if the social norm of educational television being a "good thing to do" is indeed active, it isn't being talked about.

The individual station audiences are set apart really by how they stand on three items: number 3 (continuing one's education), number 4 (more satisfying than commercial TV), and number 1 (practical aid). Dixie, Eastern U., and Middlewest State are high on the continuing educational value (3). Eastbury and Westville are high on the satisfying quality of ETV in comparison to CTV (4). Schooltown and Dixie are high on the practical aid they get from ETV. Thus we seem to have four different kinds of audience, if these responses on rationale are to be taken seriously. Every audience bases its viewing on a desire for the cultural and intellectual programing of educational stations. But in addition to that, we have what we might call a noncommercial audience (Eastbury and Westville), a continuing education audience (Eastern U. and Middlewest State), a practical aid audience (Schooltown), and an audience that combines interest in continuing education and practical aid (Dixie network). In other words, like this:


Intellectual-cultural reasons
Search for more satisfying television than CTV
Desire to continue education
Desire to learn practical things from TV
Eastbury
Westville
Schooltown
Dixie network
Eastern U.
Middlewest State

This inevitably reminds us of what we found out about how the stations program (chapter 3). The two stations whose audiences seem to find them outstandingly "more satisfying" than commercial television are community stations, skillful in production, repeating many programs. They are what we called "arts stations", because of the number of art and culture programs they carry. By contrast, we called Eastern U., Middlewest State, and the Dixie network "science" stations. These stations broadcast many courses and make frequent use of professors from the universities associated with them. It is not altogether surprising to find out that the audiences of these stations are the ones who see ETV as especially important in helping them continue their education. We recall that the Schooltown station specialized in a large number of "how to do it" programs, and are not surprised that the Schooltown audience should give a high rating to the "practical aid" available on educational television. And the Dixie network is not only strong in its continuing education programs, but also has an audience of which a sizable part claims to spend more than half its ETV time on practical programs. So if we then speak of Eastbury and Westville as an intellectual-cultural audience, of Eastern U. and Middlewest State as an intellectual-cultural-education audience, of Schooltown as an intellectual-cultural-practical audience, and of the Dixie network as an intellectual-cultural-education-practical audience, we have some support both in the programing and in the audiences' expressed reason for viewing.*

It is an interesting question whether a station programs as it does because the people want what they want, or whether the people learn their tastes from what the station gives them. Probably it is an interaction, but we do not have the data in hand to prove it.

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*Let us not lose sight, in thus naming these groups of station audiences, that all the audiences are interested in all these kinds of programs, and all the stations offer the several kinds of programs. We are talking only of an emphasis.

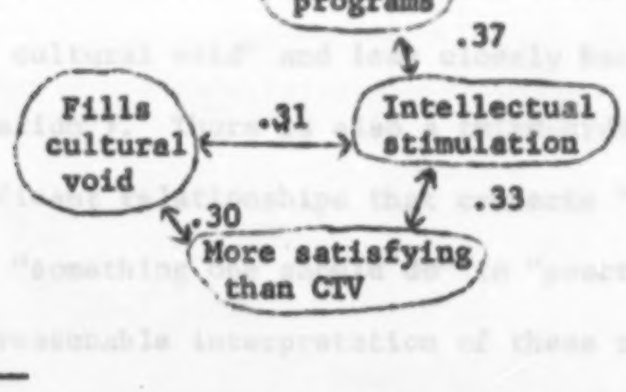
ARE THERE TYPES OF VIEWERS?

The evidence we have been looking at seems to indicate that there may be differences between station audiences in terms of what they are seeking from the educational station. The obvious next question is whether there are types of viewers, so that Audience A would be different from Audience B because it contains more viewers of Type X, fewer of Type Y. There undoubtedly are types of viewers, but we have not known how clearly they are distinguished from one another, nor what different kinds of patterns exist.

We tried to answer that question by analyzing the patterns of response to the question about rationales for viewing. Since respondents were instructed to list all the rationales that approximated their own reasons, it is possible to consider the omission of a rationale as a negative answer. Thus, the question becomes a kind of true-false test, wherein the respondent picks those statements he believes to be true, and the remainder are the ones he regards as false. This approach enabled us to construct a correlation matrix and analyze it so as to find whether the various rationales fit together into repeated clusters. This was done by calculating phi coefficients, and we shall not interrupt the report to give the raw data or details of the method here; the correlation matrix will be found in the appendix.

Suffice it to say that when we did find the intercorrelations of all the rationales, the first conclusion that came out of the analysis was that there are really no sharply divided clusters of persons by rationale. That is, there is not a large group of persons interested only in continuing their education and becoming better informed, or in practical aid and filling a cultural void, or any other sharply differentiated group of interests. One characteristic of ETV-viewing seems to be that the reasons for viewing are usually multiple, and they are usually interrelated. In other words, we conclude that there are probably not a number of separate and distinct reasons for viewing ETV, but, rather, one group of related reasons, some of which are emphasized by some viewers, others by other viewers. The difference is one of emphasis, rather than kind.

Nevertheless, there are some reasons more closely related, more central in the act of seeking ETV, than others. Let us take only the rationales that are correlated very strongly.* The strongest relationship of all is between the motivations to seek cultural programs and intellectual stimulation (rationales 5 and 8). The latter is also strongly correlated with the statement that ETV fills a void in the cultural life of the community (number 9) and that it is more satisfying than commercial television (4). In turn, the filling of the "cultural void" is closely related to the seeking of intellectual stimulation and cultural programs. Thus we have a tight little cluster of reasons all interrelated at a level which is statistically highly significant:



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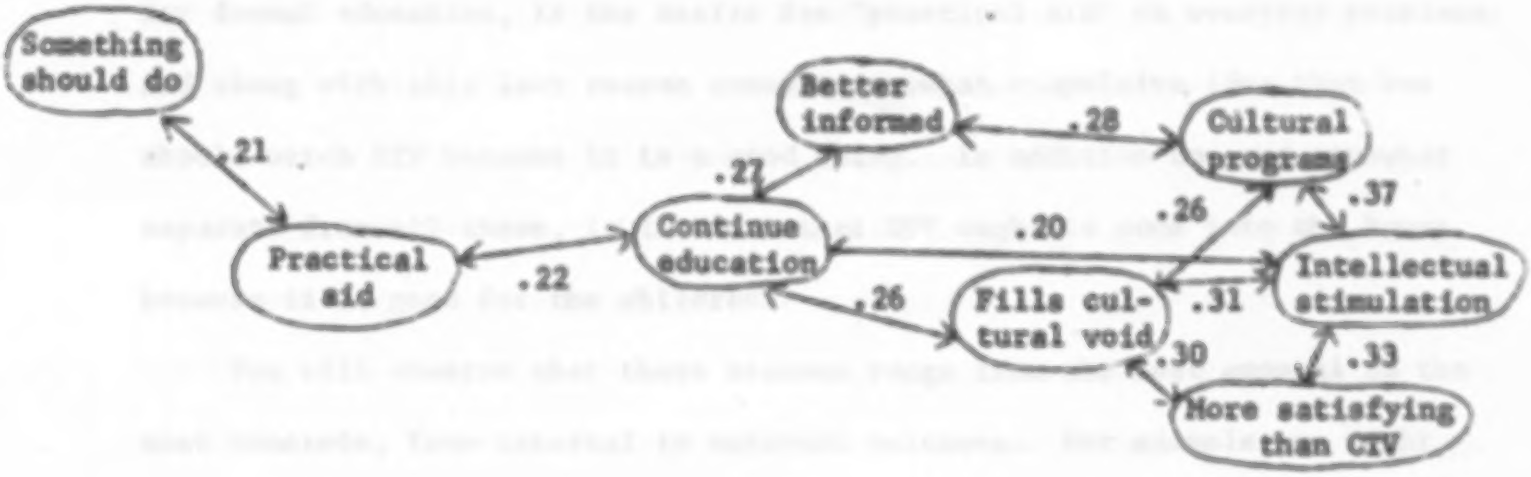
*Which we shall define here as a correlation coefficient of .30 or above. It isn't necessary, however, to have a correlation this high in order to reach statistical significance. A correlation of .20 is significant at the .05 level.

The seeking of cultural programs is also related to trying to fill the cultural void, as we should expect, but not quite at the level of a .30 correlation.

Now suppose we include all correlations of .20 or above. All of these will be statistically significant at the .05 level or better, so we can be quite sure that these are not chance relationships. If we expand the model to include the relationships of .20 or above, we find this pattern:

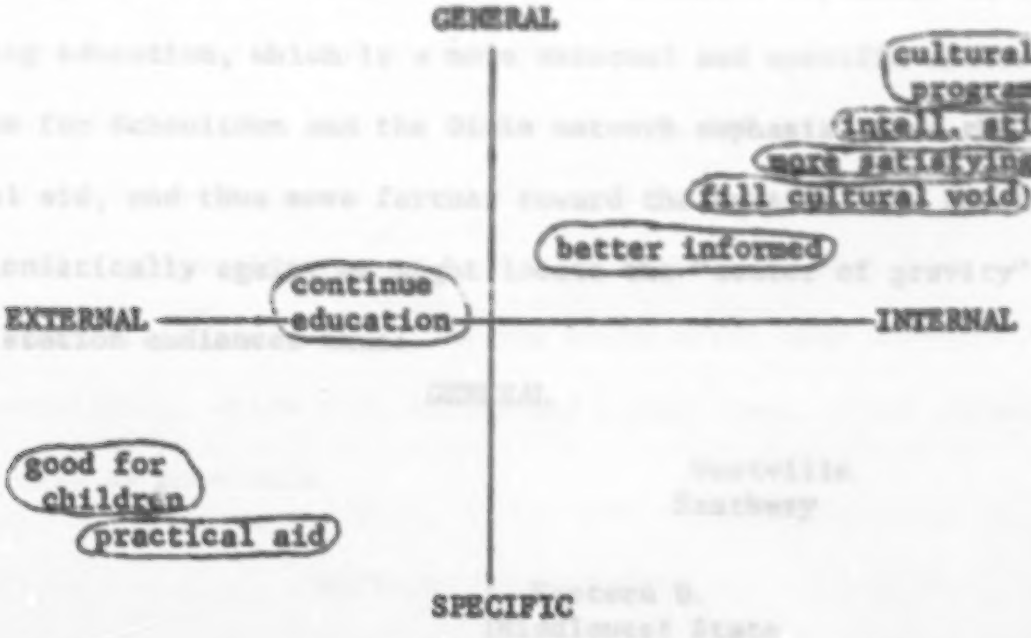

Something should do
.21
Practical aid
.22
Continue education
.27
Better informed
.28
Cultural programs
.37
.26
.20
Intellectual stimulation
.26
Fills cultural void
.31
.30
.33
More satisfying than CTV

Now only "example for children" stands isolated from other rationales. A second-order cluster has appeared, composed of the first cluster plus "to keep better informed" which is quite closely related to "cultural programs", and is in turn related closely to "continue education" (which is closely related to "fill cultural void" and less closely but significantly to "intellectual stimulation"). There is also a third-order linkage, a long arm of weak but significant relationships that connects "practical aid" to "continue education" and "something one should do" to "practical aid".

The most reasonable interpretation of these results is as follows: The most prevalent reason for watching ETV, so far as answers to this question reflect the reasons, is that ETV offers high-level programs which give the viewers intellectual stimulation, programs of a nature they do not find (or do not find as many as they would like) on commercial television. Closely related to this is the reason that ETV informs its readers -- adds to their knowledge and understanding of cultural, scientific, and public affairs matters.

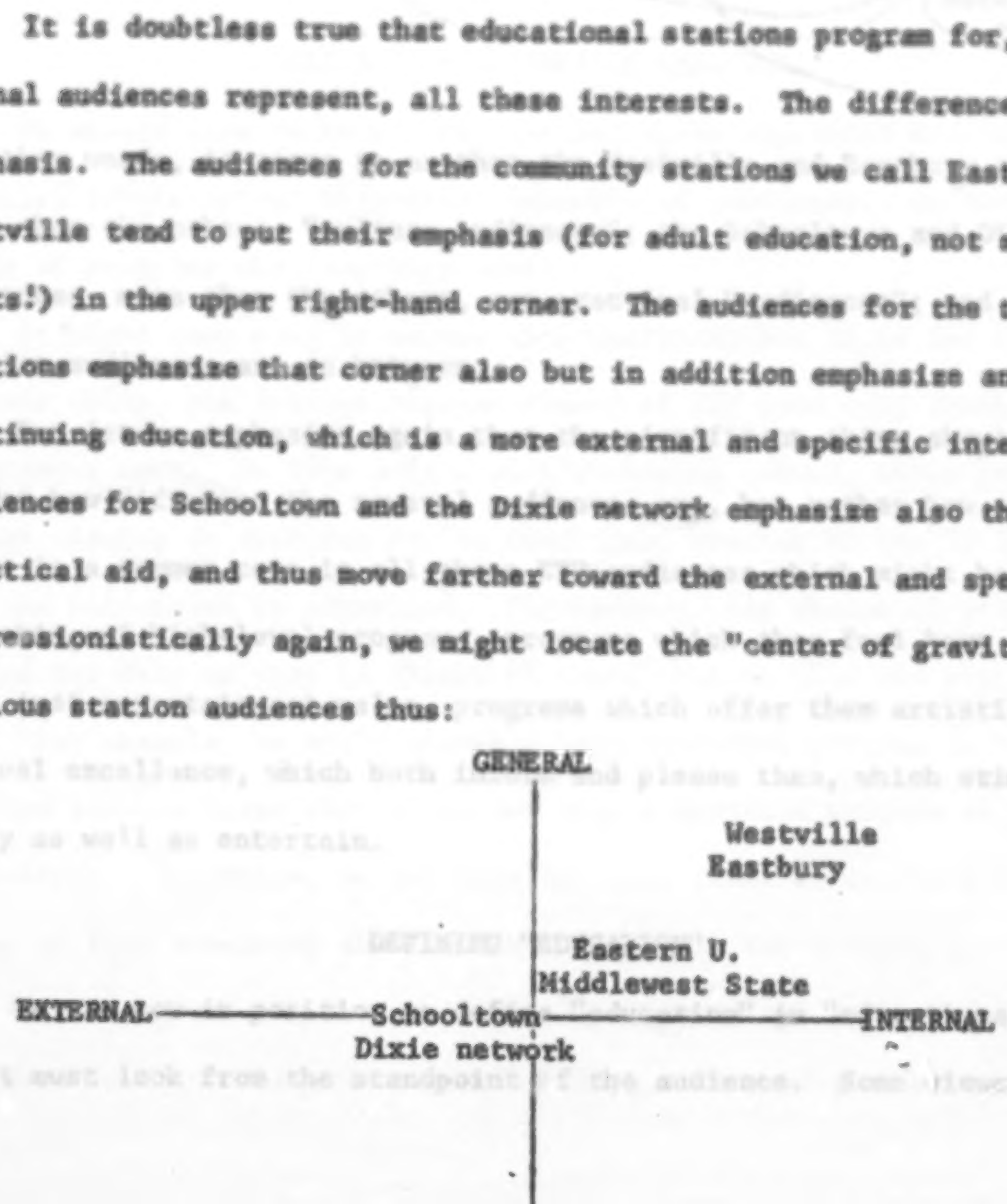
Another reason for viewing that is closely related to the idea of being informed and being intellectually stimulated is the desire for substantive and usually formal education. Another reason, closely related to the desire for formal education, is the desire for "practical aid" on everyday problems. And along with this last reason comes a somewhat compulsive idea that one should watch ETV because it is a good thing. In addition to, and somewhat separate from all these, is the idea that ETV ought to come into the house because it is good for the children.

You will observe that these reasons range from the most general to the most concrete, from internal to external outcomes. For example, we might impressionistically locate the several rationales on two axes, like this:

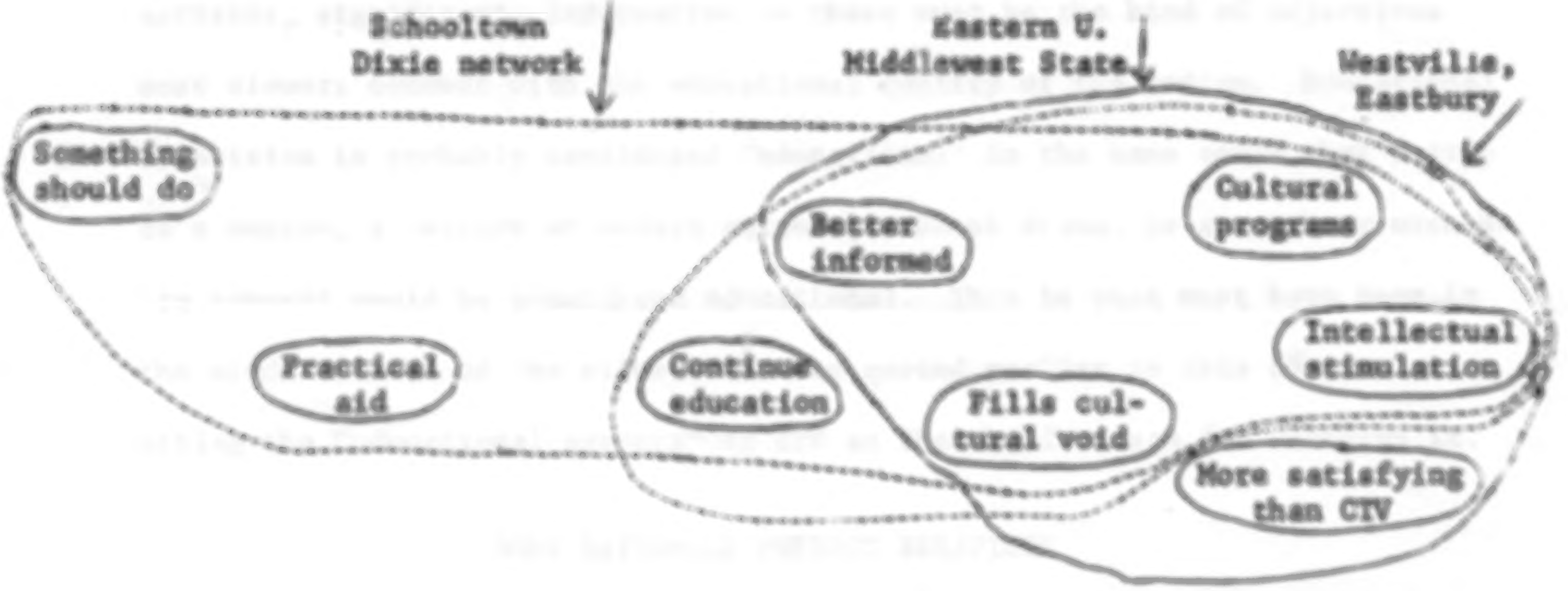

GENERAL
cultural programs
intell. stim.
more satisfying
fill cultural void
better informed
continue education
EXTERNAL
INTERNAL
good for children
practical aid
SPECIFIC

The answers in the upper right-hand corner are mostly in terms of satisfaction, enjoyment, and what ETV will do to one's intellectual and cultural understandings. The most specific and external of these is the idea of being "better informed", which conveys the implication that one can then do something about it -- discuss, or vote, or read more wisely, or whatever. When one gets as far as "continue education", however, one is talking of a product directly usable. Education will help a person get another job or a higher salary or something tangible. And down in the left-hand corner of our chart are two rationales which are clearly specific, external, and usable. "Practical aid" programs will help one re-cover the furniture, or make a better garden. Children's programs will help one bring up healthier and happier children.

It is doubtless true that educational stations program for, and educational audiences represent, all these interests. The difference comes in the emphasis. The audiences for the community stations we call Eastbury and Westville tend to put their emphasis (for adult education, not school broadcasts!) in the upper right-hand corner. The audiences for the two university stations emphasize that corner also but in addition emphasize an interest in continuing education, which is a more external and specific interest. The audiences for Schooltown and the Dixie network emphasize also the need of practical aid, and thus move farther toward the external and specific corner. Impressionistically again, we might locate the "center of gravity" of the various station audiences thus:



Another way to distinguish these audiences is by means of the correlation diagram we looked at, a page or so before this. The different audience emphases might be drawn like this:


Schooltown
Dixie network
Eastern U.
Middlewest State
Westville,
Eastbury
Something should do
Better informed
Cultural programs
Intellectual stimulation
Practical aid
Continue education
Fills cultural void
More satisfying than CTV

In other words, it seems to us that the Westville and Eastbury audiences are, more than the others, "culture audiences"; the Schooltown and Dixie network audiences, more than the others, are practical "audiences"; and the university station audiences are in between.

But let us emphasize again that the significant thing about ETV-viewers is not how different the several audiences are, but rather how alike they are. There is a common core in all these ETV audiences which might be described as a seeking of high-level programs, programs which they feel have a value more than just entertainment value, programs which offer them artistic or intellectual excellence, which both inform and please them, which stimulate and edify as well as entertain.

DEFINING "EDUCATION"

We are now in position to define "education" in "educational television" as it must look from the standpoint of the audience. Some viewers clearly are seeking formal instructional programs. But to most viewers, "education" must mean the kind of material in the upper right-hand quarter of our fourfold chart, or the right-hand side of our correlational chart. Intellectual, artistic, significant, informative -- these must be the kind of adjectives most viewers connect with the educational quality of the medium. Educational television is probably considered "educational" in the same sense that a trip to a museum, a lecture on modern science, a Greek drama, or a symphony orchestra concert would be considered educational. This is what must have been in the minds of most of the viewers whom we quoted earlier in this chapter as citing the "educational aspects" of ETV as the chief reason for watching it.

DOES RATIONALE PREDICT BEHAVIOR?

We should like to know, now, whether these expressed rationales are parallel to the actual television behavior of audiences. Do they view the kinds of programs they say they want?

It might seem easy to answer this question, but it is far from easy. For one thing, the average regular viewer of ETV sees only three or four programs a week. We have only a week's viewing record, which provides hardly enough viewing to test out for an individual whether he really lives up to all the rationales he expressed. Furthermore, his choice of programs will depend not only on what he thinks he wants, but on what the station offers him. For example, he might choose a very excellent program in a category that is not his first choice, rather than a mediocre program of the type he is seeking. Therefore, we put together some items of evidence as we could, so as to find something about whether rationale for viewing predicts viewing.

One thing we did was to divide the viewers into heavy and light viewers of ETV. We found that, as a general thing, the heavier a person's viewing, the more rationales for viewing he was able to cite. This sounds reasonable. The more ways a person finds a medium satisfying or helpful, the more likely he is to increase his time with the medium. (Or, if one reverses the relationship, the more time one spends with a medium, the more he will tend to rationalize his behavior by seeing himself as benefiting in more ways from the time he spends.) We also found that three rationales for viewing were consistently cited more frequently by heavy than by light viewers. These were "for cultural programs not available on commercial television", "for intellectual stimulation", and "it fills a cultural void". As we have seen, these are three of the basic or core rationales, and we should expect them to go with heavier viewing.

Another way to test this relationship is to take the groups of viewers who said they spent 50 per cent or more of their ETV time on a given kind of programing, and find out what rationales they gave for viewing. We did this, and found a number of encouraging results. For example, of the people in Westville who said they spent the majority of their ETV time on cultural programs, only 13 per cent gave "practical aid" as one of their reasons for viewing; but on the other hand, 40 per cent of the viewers who said they spent the majority of their ETV time on instructional programs cited "practical aid" as a reason. We have seen that "continue education" and "practical aid" are related reasons. Similarly, "intellectual stimulation was given as a reason by only 32 per cent of the practical aid audience in the Dixie network territory, whereas 52 per cent of the cultural program audience cited "intellectual stimulation". Fifty-three per cent of the Dixie instructional program audience gave "continue my education" as one of their chief reasons, compared to 40 per cent of the cultural program viewers. The relationships were by no means always clear, but there were enough such patterns as we have just cited to encourage us to believe that these rationales do tend to be reflected in viewing choices.

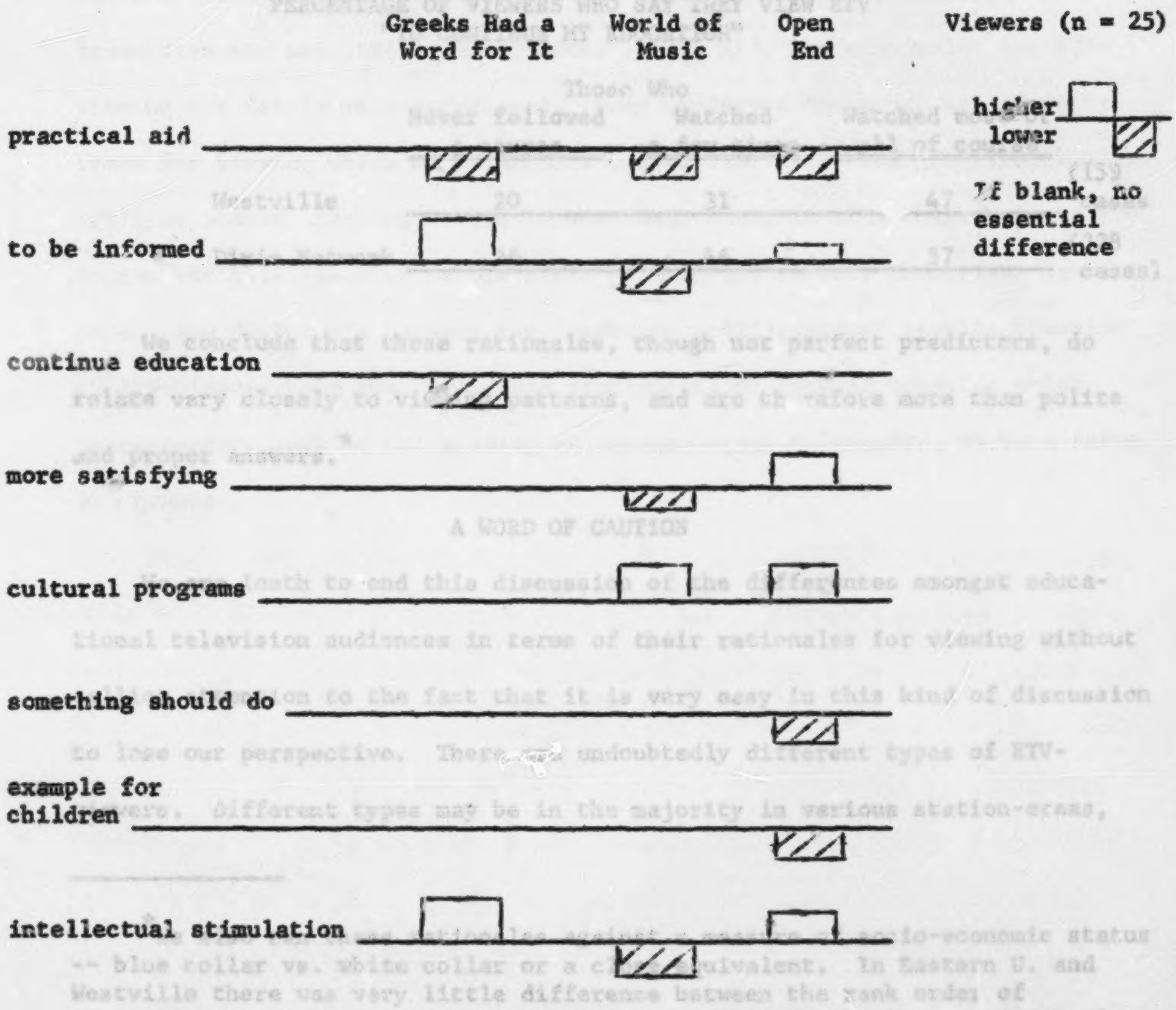
Perhaps the most effective place to test the relationship is in the audiences for specific programs. In several of the studies we have large enough program audiences to be able to do this. We find that in Eastbury the audience for the program "The Greeks Had a Word for It", compared with the non-viewers, cited two rationales significantly more frequently. These were "to be better informed" and "it is intellectually stimulating". In the same city, the audience of "World of Music" scored higher than non-viewers on only one rationale: "it offers good cultural programs not available of commercial television". And the "World of Music" audience scored much lower than the non-viewers on "practical aid", "to be better informed", "more satisfying", and "for intellectual stimulation". Intuitively, these differences make very good sense.

"Open End" scored consistently higher, viewers over non-viewers, on "more satisfying", "for cultural programs", "for intellectual stimulation", and "fills a cultural void". These were the same in all three cities where the program was being shown at the time of these studies. The consistency also encouraged us to believe that rationales may predict viewing. In two of the three cities, the "Open End" viewers also scored higher on "to be better informed". In all the cities, "Open End" viewers scored lower on "practical aid", "something I should do", and "example for my children". There was little difference between viewers and non-viewers of the program in any city, on "continue my education".

When the viewer-rationales for "Open End" are compared with those for "Ragtime Era" in the one city where both programs were currently being broadcast, the general profiles are about the same, but the "Open End" audience

PROFILES OF THREE PROGRAMS

Percentage of viewers vs. non-viewers who gave different rationales for viewing educational television



scored higher on "to be informed" and "intellectual stimulation". This, too, makes intuitive good sense when we compare a lively discussion program with a program of ragtime music.

Finally, we separated out in two cities the viewers who said they had never followed a course, those who had watched a course "a few times", and those who had watched "all or most" of a course. We then analyzed their choice of rationales for viewing, and found this interesting pattern:

PERCENTAGE OF VIEWERS WHO SAY THEY VIEW ETV
"TO CONTINUE MY EDUCATION"

	Those Who			
	Never followed a course	Watched a few times	Watched most or all of course	
Westville	20	31	47	(159 cases
Dixie Network	36	46	57	(328 cases)

We conclude that these rationales, though not perfect predictors, do relate very closely to viewing patterns, and are therefore more than polite and proper answers.*

A WORD OF CAUTION

We are loath to end this discussion of the differences amongst educational television audiences in terms of their rationales for viewing without calling attention to the fact that it is very easy in this kind of discussion to lose our perspective. There are undoubtedly different types of ETV-viewers. Different types may be in the majority in various station-areas, so that we can say there are different kinds of station audiences. But what we must not forget is that these differences are minor in comparison to what the differences must be between the rationales for viewing entertainment television and educational television. After all, the rationales for ETV-viewing are fairly well correlated. They represent one broad set of motivations for viewing which we and others have called "deferred gratification" or "delayed reward" seeking. What we have been doing in this chapter is to try to analyze this behavior on the basis of what the viewers themselves have said. The difference between the "deferred gratification" seeking behavior of ETV-viewers, and the "immediate gratification" seeking behavior which characterizes much of the viewing of entertainment television, we have taken for granted.

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*We also ran these rationales against a measure of socio-economic status -- blue collar vs. white collar or a close equivalent. In Eastern U. and Westville there was very little difference between the rank order of rationales given by the two socio-economic groups. In Eastbury and Schooltown, however, there were considerable differences. The high SES groups in both cities had the same top choices as the viewers in Eastern U. and Westville -- "be informed", "cultural programs", and "intellectual stimulation". But the low SES group in Eastbury cited "to be informed", "more satisfying", and "example for children", as their top three. The low SES group in Schooltown cited "something I should do", "example for children", and "intellectual stimulation". The high SES group invariably had a high score on "cultural programs". In general, our belief is that the more highly educated, higher socio-economic viewers tend to cluster toward the "general, internal" end of the rationale scale, and the lower-educated ones probably tend to cluster toward the other end.

8. WHAT THEY THINK OF ETV

Merely being in the educational television audience, of course, is a favorable opinion ballot. Coming to ETV for "intellectual stimulation", for "cultural programs", to find something "more satisfying than commercial television" -- to come to the audience, seeking those rewards, and to remain in the audience, is at least an inferential kind of approval. Beside this inferential evidence we can now set some evidence of a more direct kind.

This chapter is concerned with what the viewers of ETV think of it, whether it is fulfilling the expectations with which they came to it, and how satisfied or dissatisfied they are.

WHAT IS ETV DOING WELL?

When we were trying to find out why people view educational television, we asked respondents to indicate which of nine possible rationales reflected their own reasons for viewing. We reported the results in the last chapter. Reasons most frequently indicated in all the test cities were (1) to be well informed, (2) it offers good cultural programs not available on commercial television, (3) it is intellectually stimulating, followed at a little distance by (4) it helps me to continue my education, and (5) it is more satisfying than commercial television.

The next question in the interview asked the respondent to name any of the nine rationales he believed his ETV station was fulfilling especially well. In each of the test cities, an average of about 15 per cent of the respondents either said they didn't think the station was doing any of the things well, or declined to answer the question -- which may or may not be a negative answer. The other 85 to 90 per cent, however, were quite specific in their answers. They listed fewer of the nine rationales than they did when citing reasons for viewing, and appeared to have fairly clear ideas of where they felt the station was doing well and where not.

Although the percentages varied from city to city, the rank order of judgments was quite uniform. Here are the high items from each test area:

REASONS FOR VIEWING THAT ARE BEING SATISIFIED ESPECIALLY WELL BY ETV

	as named by 30% or more of respondents	as named by 20 to 29% of respondents
Eastbury	Providing cultural programs	To be better informed Help continue education
Westville	Intellectual stimulation Providing cultural programs	To be better informed Help continue education
Middlewest State	Providing cultural programs	Intellectual stimulation Help continue education
Eastern U.	Providing cultural programs Intellectual stimulation Help continue education	To be better informed
Schooltown	Practical aid	Intellectual stimulation To be better informed
Dixie Network	Providing cultural programs To be better informed	Help continue education Practical aid

These responses are remarkably uniform. In five of the six areas, "providing cultural programs" is named by more than 30 per cent of the viewers, and it might well have been named in all six cities, except for the reason that it was not included in the list in Schooltown.[*] "Intellectual stimulation", "to be better informed", and "help continue education" follow close behind. Thus the list of things the station is doing well matches quite closely the list of most common reasons for viewing ETV. It is interesting to notice that the only one of the favorite rationales which did not reappear on the "well done" list is "more satisfying than commercial television". A little later in this chapter we can see in more detail how the viewers compare ETV with CTV.

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[*] The Schooltown study was done a little earlier than the others, as a large pre-test.

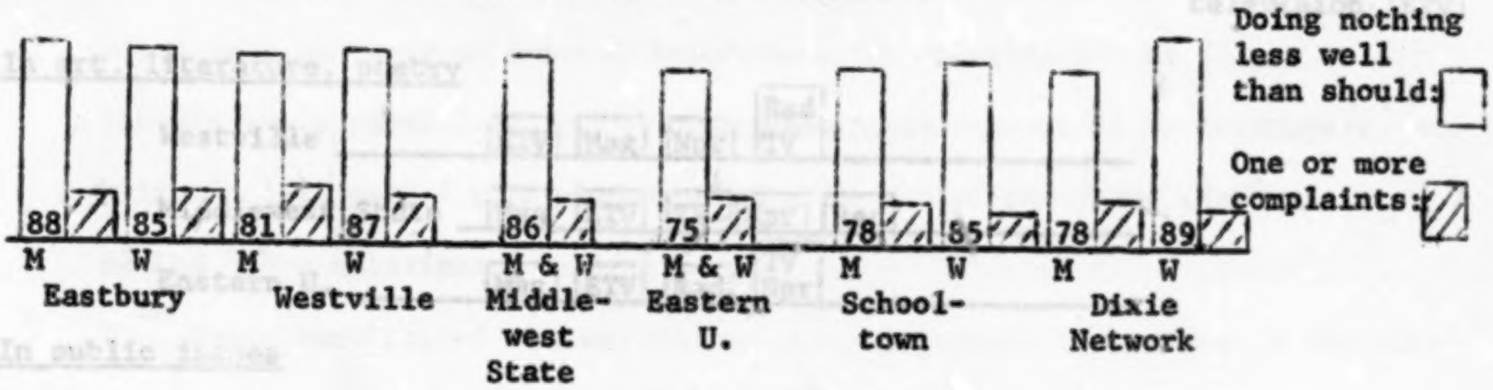
It is interesting to notice that Schooltown gets a high audience endorsement for its series of practical aid programs, and that the Dixie Network also draws praise for practical aid. These are the two audiences which listed "practical aid" highest in their inventory of reasons for viewing ETV.

It is hardly surprising, of course, that there should be this agreement between reasons for viewing and perceptions of a good job being done, but it is at least encouraging.

WHAT IS ETV NOT DOING WELL?

Respondents were also asked to indicate any of the nine rationales which the station was not fulfilling as well as the respondent thought it should. In only two instances did more than 10 per cent of any sample mention a given area of dissatisfaction. Nineteen per cent of the men in the Dixie Network audience, and 15 per cent of the viewers in Eastern U. felt that their ETV stations were not doing enough to "fill the cultural void" in their communities. This may seem rather odd, inasmuch as both audiences praised the station for "providing cultural programs". Possibly this is merely a reflection of a very deep wish for cultural improvement: even though the station is doing well in this respect, there is still much more to do. Or it may reflect a minority group opinion of some kind or other. In any case, the most important result of this question was an overwhelming vote of confidence in the station's performance. Here are the percentages in each audience that said they knew of no area where the station was not doing as well as it should.

PERCENT SAYING STATION WAS DOING NOTHING LESS WELL THAN IT SHOULD AND THOSE HAVING ONE OR MORE COMPLAINTS



ETV COMPARED WITH OTHER MEDIA

Another question of considerable interest is how educational television fits with the other media into the use-patterns of a viewer. To find out something about this we asked both viewers and non-viewers of ETV how much interested they were in five kinds of service the media provide -- practical information; art, literature, and poetry; information on public issues; serious music; and general knowledge. Then we asked each one to tell us which of the mass media were of real help to him in each of these areas. We asked viewers of ETV to distinguish in their answers between commercial and educational television. Then we separated out the persons who said they were "very" or "intensely" interested in each area of content, and analyzed what they had said about the help they got from different media.

The detailed tables are in the appendix, but the following chart will show what the answers were like. This chart represents the answers of ETV-viewers only.

PERCENTAGE OF INTERESTED VIEWERS WHO MENTIONED DIFFERENT MEDIA AS BEING OF REAL HELP

	Most helpful				Least helpful
In getting practical information					
Westville	Mag	Npr	ETV	TV	Rad
Middlewest State	Mag	Npr	ETV	TV	Rad
Eastern U.	Mag	Npr	ETV	TV	Rad
In art, literature, poetry					
Westville	ETV	Mag	Npr	Rad TV	
Middlewest State	Mag	ETV	TV	Npr	Rad
Eastern U.	Mag	ETV	Rad	TV Npr	
In public issues					
Westville	Npr	TV	ETV	Mag	Rad
Middlewest State	TV	Npr	Rad	Mag	ETV
Eastern U.	Npr	TV	Mag	ETV	Rad
In serious music					
Westville		Rad	ETV	TV	
Middlewest State		Rad	ETV	TV	
Eastern U.		Rad	ETV	TV	
In general knowledge					
Westville	Mag	ETV	Npr	TV	Rad
Middlewest State	Mag	Npr	ETV	TV	Rad
Eastern U.	ETV	Mag	Npr	TV	Rad

Newspaper	Npr
Magazine	Mag
Radio	Rad
Television	TV
Educational television	ETV

One's first reaction upon looking at this chart concerns the highly specialized role into which radio has been forced by the coming of television. Before television, radio would certainly have rated very high in each of the five categories with which the chart is concerned. Now it is first in bringing serious music to the audience, but rather uniformly last in all the others. Commercial television has taken over much of radio's responsibility for bringing public issues to its viewers, and educational television has come to play an exceedingly important role for its audiences. Over-all ETV is second only to magazines as a carrier of art, literature, and poetry. It is second to radio as a carrier of serious music. It is second only to magazines as a purveyor of general knowledge. In bringing public issues to its viewers it is rated less useful than commercial television or newspapers, and slightly less useful than magazines, but in one of the three areas it is ranked above magazines.

These results, of course, reflect to some extent the nature of the separate stations and their audiences. Westville's distinguished programs on the arts and on local public issues are reflected in the high rating ETV gets in Westville on those two services. Eastern U.'s strong programs in general knowledge are likewise reflected in high audience ratings for this service. It would be interesting to have this same question asked in the coverage areas of the two stations where practical aid programs have been emphasized, and see whether this rating, too, does not rise amongst those audiences.

How do the non-viewers of ETV rate the media for their services in these areas? The full table is in the appendix, but in general it may be said that the ratings by non-viewers follow the same order as the ratings by viewers -- of course, with ETV omitted. In Westville, for example, where ETV is in third place and TV in fourth place among viewers, for practical information, TV moves up to third place among non-viewers of ETV. It appears that ETV has not brought about the extensive reorganization amongst the media that commercial television brought about, when it took over so many of the functions of radio. At the same time, educational television is not serving as simply an extension of the services of commercial television. It has its own strengths and weaknesses. It is clearly weaker than commercial television in its ability to cover public events and thereby to illuminate public issues. On the other hand it has a special interest and strength in art and in general knowledge which give it a pattern of usefulness quite different from commercial television. Thus, for example, you will notice that CTV and ETV occupy adjacent ranks in practical aid and serious music, but in public issues, in art, and in general knowledge their ranks are quite different. Of course, it goes without saying that CTV is much more used as entertainment than is ETV. Therefore, in viewers' concepts of usefulness, as well as in the other qualities of the medium, we may say with some confidence that educational television is a different medium from commercial television.

WHAT CHANGES IN ETV DO VIEWERS WANT?

Viewers were also asked what changes they would make in their local ETV station if they had the power to make such changes. Responses to such a question as this should be read with caution, inasmuch as people are notoriously unable to envision changes in the media, and to say specifically how they would react to new forms they have not experienced. Therefore, the fact that about half the respondents say they would make "no change" is not so significant as it might seem. On the other hand, the same viewers of ETV were much more productive in generating suggestions for changes in commercial television, as we shall see later in this chapter. And we know from other studies that highly educated persons (such as are plentiful in the ETV audience) are likely to be more articulate and critical than others in speaking of television.* Therefore, the results would seem at least to indicate that there is no great prevailing dissatisfaction with the educational stations on the part of their viewers.

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*For example, the Stiner-Berelson study of the CTV audience found highly educated individuals more critical, as did the Stanford study of Milwaukee Journal Consumer Survey data.

More significant than this, however, is the nature of the suggestions for change which viewers were able to make. The change most frequently suggested was to add certain programs or courses. Roughly two-thirds of all the proposed changes were of this sort. The suggestions had no central trend, except that people wanted -- as might be expected -- more and better. The largest number of suggestions for specific kinds of programs were for children's programs.

A number of viewers spoke of the need of more money for the station, in order to provide more professional camera work and lighting, better actors, remote coverage, and other improvements in presentation. Of the remaining one-third of the suggested changes, a little less than half were in schedule -- for example, that children's programs should be put at times more convenient to the family, or that a program should be repeated when the man of the house could be home to hear it, or that week-end programs should be added, and so forth. Another 15 per cent or so of the suggestions were of a very interesting kind. There were a few suggestions that the station should be less "stuffy". There were suggestions that programs should be made less difficult -- for children and the uneducated, some respondents added. The problem of whether programs are too difficult is one we looked into by means of other questions, which we shall now report on.

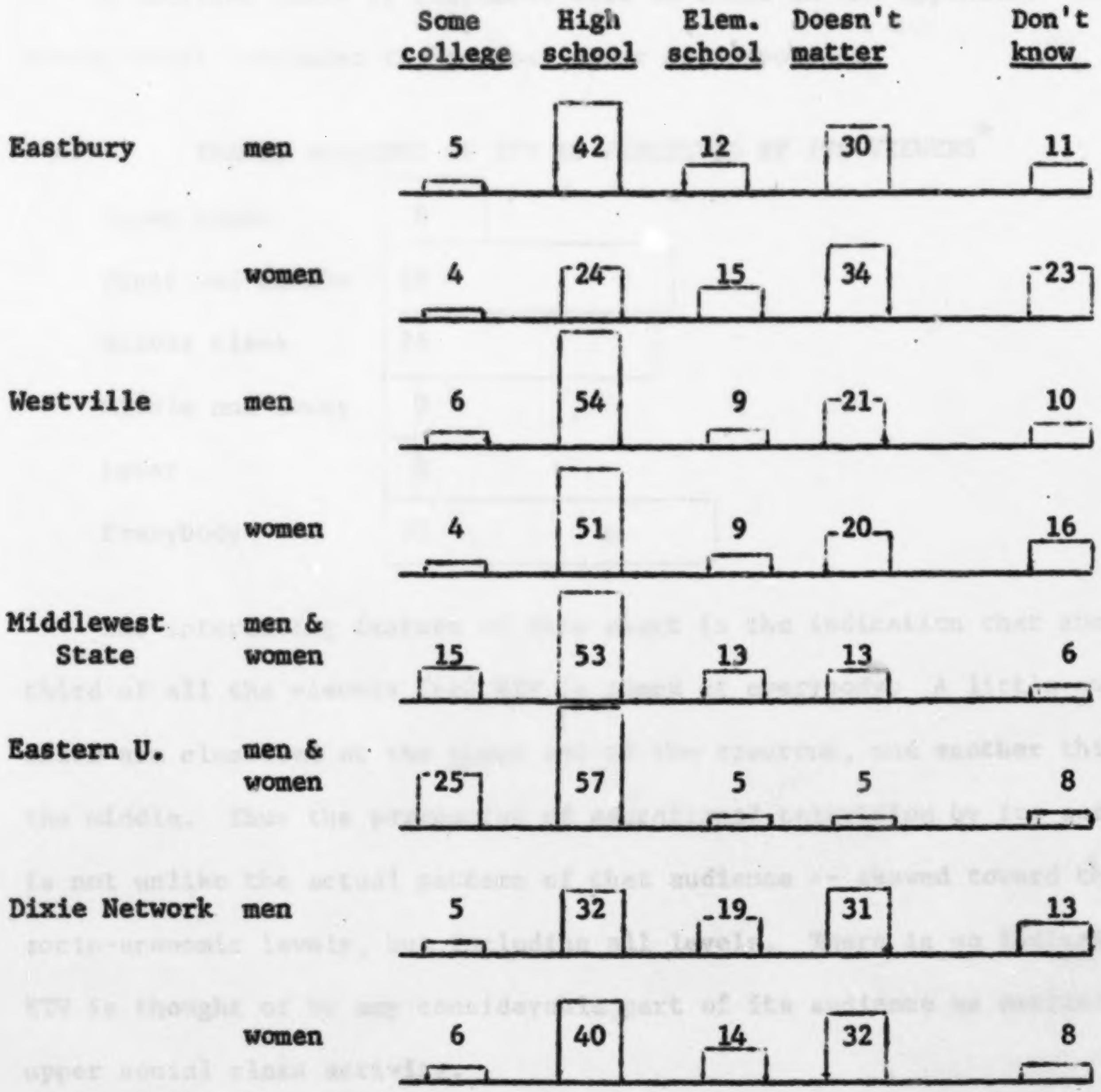
ARE ETV PROGRAMS TOO DIFFICULT?

When respondents were asked to rate ETV programs they knew as "too hard", "too easy", or "about right", about 80 per cent of all the answers said, "about right". The proportion of "too hard" answers varied with the audience.

In Westville, where the educational level is higher than some of the other audiences, only about 2 per cent of the answers mentioned a program as being "too hard". In Eastbury, where the average education of the women is higher than that of the men, about 12 per cent of the men, 6 per cent of the women, found some program "too hard". The proportion of "too hard" responses was about 5 per cent in Eastern U., 8 per cent in Middlewest State, and 12 per cent of the women, 19 per cent of the men in the Dixie Network audience. These are roughly proportional to the educational level of the audience. Thus, in some cases, a program rated "about right" in one area is "too hard". This is what happened, for example, in the case of the Casals Master Class program, which was "too hard" for some members of the Dixie Network audience, but "about right" in Westville.

Respondents were also asked how far in school they felt a person needed to have gone in order to be able to enjoy the programs on the ETV channel. Considerable difference was found in responses from different station audiences, but, in general, the educational stations are considered by most of their viewers to require a high school education, not more. It is encouraging to note that the two stations in the areas with the lowest educational levels are rated by a third of their viewers as relatively unrestricted by educational level -- it "doesn't matter", they say. The only stations where a sizable proportion of viewers say that a college education is needed are the two university stations. This may be a halo effect of the university affiliation, or it may be that these stations are actually demanding more than the community or school stations. The chart on the following page summarizes these judgments.

HOW MUCH EDUCATION IS NEEDED TO ENJOY ETV?

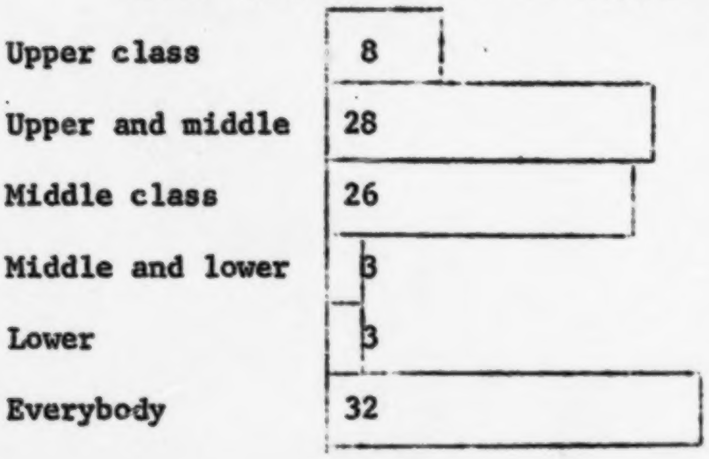


WHAT SOCIAL CLASS DOES ETV SERVE?

There has been a great deal of speculation about the breadth of educational television's appeal. Can it serve both ends of the social spectrum? Do viewers see it as appealing mostly to the middle class, the upper class, or the lower class? We know that the audience is skewed toward the more-educated, higher-economic, white-collar groups, but how do the viewers themselves perceive the medium? This is what we tried to find out by asking what socio-economic class or classes the viewers saw as the target of ETV.

A detailed table of responses will be found in the appendix. The following chart indicates the general order of responses:

TARGET AUDIENCE OF ETV AS PERCEIVED BY ITS VIEWERS*



The interesting feature of this chart is the indication that about one-third of all the viewers feel ETV is aimed at everybody. A little over one-third are clustered at the upper end of the spectrum, and another third in the middle. Thus the perception of educational television by its audience is not unlike the actual pattern of that audience -- skewed toward the upper socio-economic levels, but including all levels. There is no indication that ETV is thought of by any considerable part of its audience as exclusively an upper social class activity.

There is some variation between stations. The Eastern U. audience is the one most likely to perceive ETV as appealing to the upper half of the social spectrum, and Westville and Middlewest State are second in this respect. On the other hand, Eastbury and Dixie Network audiences are most likely to see their stations as appealing to "everybody" or to middle and lower classes.

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*These are proportions of persons who answered the question. About 15 per cent of all respondents did not answer.

The answers to this question may to a considerable extent project self-image, inasmuch as the two audiences last mentioned are lowest in educational level, and the three others were highest in proportion of college people.

THE QUALITIES OF ETV

Perhaps the most revealing evidence we have of people's conceptions of and attitudes toward TV is a descriptive check list of words. Some of the results from this method were reported in chapter 5. The list contained 13 descriptive terms, each preceded by "not at all", "somewhat", "quite", and "very". The respondent was asked to describe his local ETV station by checking one of the four qualifying terms for each descriptive adjective. When he had done this, he was asked to go through the list again, and describe "regular commercial television" in the same way. Thus we have descriptions, by ETV-viewers and non-viewers, of educational television, and descriptions, by ETV-viewers and non-viewers, of commercial television.

First let us look at what ETV's own viewers had to say of it. The full table is in the appendix. The chart on the following page combines men's and women's responses for each station.

Educational television receives an overwhelming vote of confidence for being informative, useful, satisfying, and interesting. The lowest percentage to rate it quite or very informative is 78, the lowest to say it is quite or very interesting is 69, the lowest to judge it quite or very useful is 76, the lowest to call it quite or very satisfying is 54. For each of these descriptive terms the median is in the 80's or very close to 80. In addition, between a third and one-half of the viewers said that ETV was quite or very much fun, and about one-fourth said that it was hard work. As a general thing, the lowest percentages on favorable responses (such as "interesting")

Percentage of viewers who said ETV is "quite" or "very"	Eastbury	Westville	Middle-west State	Eastern U.	School-town	Dixie Network
Interesting	74	85	80	80	87	69
Amateur	6	4	8	5	11	13
Fun	33	43	32	28	52	31
Useful	76	79	85	90	85	86
Hard work	29	13	22	20	19	45
Violent	0	1	3	0	6	4
Snobbish	1	2	3	0	3	5
Satisfying	65	83	78	80	86	54
Boring	0	1	2	0	3	3
Annoying	1	1	1	2	1	5
Informative	78	89	93	95	95	87
Dull	0	2	5	0	3	8
Brutal	0	0	2	0	2	4

and the highest on unfavorable ones (such as "hard work") come from the Dixie Network and Eastbury audiences, where the average educational level is lower than in the other audiences. But in general we can say that almost all ETV's viewers think of it as interesting, informative, useful, and satisfying. Substantial numbers consider it fun; and somewhat smaller, but still considerable, numbers find it hard work.

For comparison, let us see how non-viewers describe ETV. The result -- presented in the next chart -- is somewhat surprising. For the non-viewers, if these are representative, tend to see ETV in almost the same pattern as viewers do. That is, they see it as interesting, informative, useful, and satisfying (to its viewers, doubtless), and some of them think it is fun and hard work. The only difference is that the percentages are smaller on the favorable items. Whereas about 80 of the viewers describe ETV as interesting, less than 50 per cent of the non-viewers call it interesting. Whereas nearly 40 per cent of viewers think ETV is fun, only about 17 per cent of non-viewers think of it as fun. On the other hand, there are surprisingly small differences between the percentages of viewers and non-viewers who think of ETV as amateur, snobbish, boring, dull, annoying -- the terms you would expect non-viewers to apply to it. More non-viewers do describe it in those terms, but not many more. To put it into a sentence, non-viewers seem to be less attracted to ETV than its viewers are, but not strongly repelled by it.

This chart sums up the trend of non-viewer comments on ETV:

Percentage of non-viewers who said ETV is "quite" or "very"	Eastbury	Westville	Middle-west State	Eastern U.	School-town	Dixie Network
Interesting	50	36	23	63	58	47
Amateur	5	3	8	4	13	19
Fun	20	11	11	25	24	11
Useful	54	46	49	71	65	71
Hard work	26	19	18	13	24	44
Violent	0	1	1	0	2	4
Snobbish	1	5	5	0	2	7
Satisfying	40	30	31	54	51	40
Boring	1	5	5	0	5	5
Annoying	2	3	6	0	5	5
Informative	51	48	58	67	73	74
Dull	0	6	3	0	5	9
Brutal	0	0	1	0	2	3

Inasmuch as we asked both viewers and non-viewers also for their descriptions of commercial television, we are in position to compare each group's image of ETV with its image of CTV. The detailed tables for this are in the appendix, but in the chart which follows we have summed up this comparison. We made no mention of any difference until it was at least 5 percentage points. The chart should be read like this: "ETV-viewers in Eastbury think that ETV is more interesting than CTV."

COMPARATIVE IMAGES OF TWO MEDIA:

Is ETV or CTV more ________

ETV Viewers think (ETV or CTV) is more							Non-viewers of ETV think (ETV or CTV) is more					
East-bury	West-ville	M.W. State	East. U.	School town	Dixie Net		East-bury	West-ville	M.W. State	East. U.	School town	Dixie Net
ETV	ETV	ETV	ETV	ETV	ETV	interesting		ETV	CTV	ETV		CTV
ETV	CTV		CTV			amateur		ETV				ETV
CTV	ETV	CTV	CTV	CTV	CTV	fun	CTV	ETV	CTV	CTV	CTV	CTV
ETV	ETV	ETV	ETV	ETV	ETV	useful	ETV		CTV	ETV	ETV	ETV
ETV	ETV	ETV	ETV	ETV	ETV	hard work	ETV		ETV	ETV	ETV	ETV
CTV	CTV	CTV	CTV	CTV	CTV	violent	CTV	CTV	CTV	CTV	CTV	CTV
CTV						snobbish						
ETV	ETV	ETV	ETV	ETV	ETV	satisfying	CTV	CTV	ETV	ETV		CTV
CTV	CTV	CTV	CTV			boring	CTV	CTV		CTV		
CTV	CTV	CTV	CTV	CTV	CTV	annoying	CTV			CTV		
ETV	ETV	ETV	ETV	ETV	ETV	informative	ETV		CTV	ETV	ETV	ETV
CTV	CTV	CTV	CTV	CTV	CTV	dull	CTV			CTV		
CTV	CTV	CTV	CTV	CTV	CTV	brutal	CTV	CTV	CTV	CTV	CTV	CTV

Look first at the left-hand columns that show the viewers' opinions. They are unanimous that ETV is more interesting, harder work, more satisfying, more informative; and that CTV is more violent, more dull, more annoying, more brutal. With only one dissent, they vote that CTV is more fun. On the other hand, with two abstentions they vote that CTV is also more boring.

Then look at the other side, where the opinions of non-viewers of ETV are represented. They agree that CTV is more violent and more brutal. With one dissent, they say that CTV is more fun. They tend to agree that ETV is harder work and more useful, and more informative, and register a majority of one for CTV being more satisfying. On the matter of which is more interesting, they are evenly divided.

Now put the two columns together. We find that

Viewers and non-viewers agree that educational television is harder work, commercial television is more violent and more brutal.

Viewers and non-viewers are mostly agreed that commercial television is more fun, and also apt to be more boring, and educational television is likely to be more useful and more informative.

In all comparisons where there is a difference of reasonable size, commercial television is described as more annoying and more dull.

There is a real difference of opinion as to whether commercial or educational television is more satisfying, more interesting, more amateurish. The trend in all these comparisons, however, is toward ETV.

To the supporters, producers, and friends of educational television, this must seem like a good report card. But to both educational and commercial television it specifies challenges. Educational television can hardly hope to be as much fun as commercial television; but it certainly should try to be as interesting and as satisfying. And its program producers should not be content with having their programs thought of as "amateur". For commercial television, the complaints about violence will come as no surprise, but the comments -- even from non-viewers of ETV -- about CTV being dull, boring, annoying, must not be pleasant to hear. It is apparently a paradox of the way CTV chooses its programs that it can be thought by the same people to be fun and exciting, dull and annoying. It is a temptation to expand and illuminate that paradox, and to try to find out precisely what viewers find annoying and dull.* But this is a report of and from the viewers of educational, not commercial, television.

THE FACELESSNESS OF TELEVISION?

One more point needs to be added to this report of what the people think of educational television.

Television men have sometimes been worried about the facelessness of television stations. Remembering the early years of radio, when stations had personalities of their own and were readily recognized by their call letters, television leaders have sometimes expressed regret that their medium has come to be known in terms of channels, rather than call letters. Television stations, they say, have lost their identity and their faces. They have become numbers on a dial that reads from 2 to 13, and operates essentially as pipelines from the networks. The network stars and programs are known far better than the stations.

It isn't our business to study the alleged facelessness of commercial television stations, but we can report that educational television is far from faceless. In particular, the two community stations in our study were widely known by their call letters, many of their chief programs were identified with them, and a great deal of interest and loyalty was expressed by many of their viewers. In all the six areas, the difference between educational and commercial television was known, and the presence of the educational stations seemed to be a matter of broad knowledge. The very fact that these educational stations have their center of gravity in the local area rather than in the great networks, and that they sometimes must ask for funds, and cannot always afford high-priced talent -- these factors which are in many ways handicaps have, however, helped to give the stations personality and name and face in their own communities.

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*We don't mean to be coy about this information, but feel that our job in this study is to look at ETV. The complaints most often recorded concerning CTV in our interviews were about violence and commercials. There were a number of suggestions that quality could be improved, and that the commercial stations needed more information shows. The repetitiveness of the medium, the interruption of programs by commercials, and matters of taste were often cited as reasons for annoyance and boredom. As might be expected, the viewers of ETV were much more critical of CTV, than were the viewers who watch only CTV.

9. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THESE RESULTS

On the basis of these results, what can we say of educational television, on its ninth birthday?

In nine years, has it made an impact?

Clearly, we must conclude that it has. Not so great an impact, perhaps, as its founders had dreamed of, but still a solid and significant one. A medium which supplies a part of the teaching of nearly three million school children, and which attracts as regular viewers 10 to 24 per cent of all the adults in every community where it has a VHF channel, is making itself felt. It has made a significant difference in the programing available in every community where it can be seen. In communities like Westville and Eastbury, the community-owned stations have become an important interest and responsibility of the people of the area. Stations like Schooltown, Middlewest State, and Eastern U. have become an important interest and responsibility of the institutions to which they belong. A network like the Dixie Network has become a responsibility of State government, and known to most of the people of the State.

In addition, we must record that the curve of ETV development has been upward. In the 60's there has been a noticeable increase in plans and permits for new stations. The station we call Westville, when it was studied by the senior author of this report about four years ago, reached into about 40 per cent of the homes in its coverage area; now it reaches more than 60 per cent of those homes. Most of the widely viewed and still widely discussed programs and program series have been seen nationally only in the last few years. These include "Open End", "The Age of Kings", the nationally circulated Boston

Symphony programs, the Khrushchev-Susskind interview, "Ragtime Era", and so forth. These are examples, but there has been a marked increase in the number of these distinguished programs in the last few years. More than anything else, this program development suggests why there has been a growth in audiences and impact.

The number of school children and college students receiving part of their teaching by ETV has risen exponentially in the last five years. In the last years, too, great progress has been made in understanding the strengths and the weaknesses of teaching by television. It has been learned that the medium has a great power to attract and hold attention and interest, that it has an unequalled ability to share good teaching and excellent demonstrations (for example, permitting 100,000 students to look through a microscope or into an atomic reactor at the same time), that good teaching on television is about as effective as classroom teaching -- but that it is more effective in some kinds of teaching than others, and in particular it is more effective when it is built into a program of class and individual activities rather than being used to carry the entire burden of a class.

In nine years, has ETV succeeded in attracting a significant audience?

Its regular audience is only a minority of all the television audience; its audience for any given program is likely to be a minority of sets in use at the time. But its viewers include a high proportion of the better-educated people in the community (although some poorly educated ones, too, are in the audience). Its audience includes an abnormally high proportion of the people with professional, managerial, and other white-collar jobs (although it includes also a number of blue-collar people). Its viewers are more likely than others to be active in the cultural and civic affairs of the community -- to go to concerts, lectures, civic meetings, discussion groups. They are more likely than others to discuss politics and to be asked for their advice on public questions. They are more likely to read books and serious magazines. They are more likely to be on the way up. In other words, in every respect except size, the audience for educational television is the kind broadcasters dream about -- the best educated, most articulate, best informed, most upward mobile, culturally and civically most active persons in the community.

It must be acknowledged, however, that ETV has never quite fulfilled the dream that some of its founders had for it -- that it would become the school and the university of people who had little opportunity for education. Its audiences are highly skewed toward the people who have had opportunity for education. It is an open question whether ETV can do both jobs -- serving both the little educated and the much educated. However, we found a considerable number of upward mobile blue-collar people for whom ETV was performing a real service. A course like the literacy teaching programs which have been presented in Memphis, Philadelphia, and elsewhere, are obviously successful with the little education. And when one gets up to the years of high school and junior college, then there is no doubt about ETV's potency in filling in for many of the experiences of classroom and campus. The City of Chicago, in putting its entire junior college curriculum on television, has been able to save thousands of persons for education and for professions, business, and industry which require that level of education. But despite these accomplishments, still it is clear that the chief impact of ETV, up to the present time, has been with the educational upper half, rather than the lower half, of the community.

In nine years, has it found a distinctive place for itself amongst the mass media?

One of the significant findings of this study is that educational television has really performed a separate function from commercial television; it has carved out a distinctive place for itself. There is certainly overlap; for example, the program "Open End" has appeared on both educational and commercial stations. But television, as we have tried to indicate, is both a great entertainment and a great educational medium. Commercial television has specialized in the entertainment end of that spectrum; educational television, in the other end. It is clear that the behavior of watching educational television is more like the behavior of reading books and other serious print. It is what we have called "deferred gratification", rather than "immediate gratification" behavior, and this is why it is more likely to be engaged in by the upper parts of society where that norm is strong, or by members of the lower parts of society who are moving upward toward the levels where such a norm is strong. Some of the more interesting charts in this study demonstrated that use of educational television usually goes with high use of print, rather than high over-all use of television.*

Educational television is very little competition for commercial television in furnishing an entertainment service, in swift handling of news, or in expensive coverage of public events. Its special place is in the area of providing cultural programs, intellectual challenge and stimulation, information other than spot news, and educational opportunities. More than commercial television it has the advantage of being able to use the full strengths of the medium for education. More than print, it has the advantage of being able to offer sound and visual representation, as well as words. It doesn't stand still, like print, to be a source of reference or to have its difficult parts repeated, but on the other hand it can breathe three-dimensional motion and sound and life into the performing arts, into discussion, demonstrations, and lectures.

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*Some recent surveys supported by the commercial television industry have found that individuals who are critical of the standards of commercial television nevertheless choose to watch commercial entertainment programs of the kind they criticize even though an informational or cultural program is available at the same hour. We have no doubt of this, but tend to interpret it otherwise than simply as human inconsistency. Our observation is that a person who is seeking intellectual stimulation is likely to learn to seek it elsewhere than commercial television. While he continues to use the medium for its entertainment and its coverage of events and sports, he goes to printed sources for his intellectual stimulation, or, if there is ETV available, to ETV. This is another indication that ETV-viewing is somewhat different behavior from viewing CTV.

A characteristic of the mass media is that they do not have sharp and uncrossable borders. Ordinarily, one function will be shared by several media, each contributing in its own way. This is the case with educational television. The remarkable thing is that in nine years, ETV has been able to develop so much individuality, and to serve such specific purposes.

In nine years, what has it come to mean to its viewers?

As we saw in chapters 7 and 8, it has come to mean many things, but at the heart of all these concepts is a dependence on it for cultural programs, for intellectual stimulation, for serious information, and for educational opportunities. In some places, more than others, it has come to mean a source of practical aid -- how to do it, and so forth. In none of the places we studied, either among or outside the viewers, has it come to mean to very many people "egghead" behavior, or snobbishness, or an upper-class activity.

As a matter of fact, ETV got a very good report card both from its viewers and from the persons who know it only from the outside. By a large majority of its viewers it was called informative, useful, interesting, and satisfying. More than a third called it "fun", and about one-fourth of the viewers called it "hard work". Among the non-viewers, all the favorable percentages were smaller, but the trend was the same. Viewers and non-viewers agreed that ETV is not so much fun as commercial television, but they differed as to which medium is the more satisfying, the more interesting, and the more amateurish. Strangely enough, they tended to agree that commercial television tends to be, on the average, duller and more boring (chiefly because of the monotony of theme, plot, and tone) than ETV, and also more annoying (chiefly because of the commercials and, some said, because of the violence).

The loyalty that many ETV-viewers feel toward the educational station, the fact that it had a personality for them and an importance, was clearly evident. In the same tone, however, many of the viewers wished that the station had more money to hire needed personnel of high quality, to maintain always professional standards of production, to keep on the air longer, to broadcast programs that would be sometimes a little more "fun", a little more "interesting", a little more "challenging". This is both a good and a bad signal to ETV. Audience concern and involvement are good. But they will not continue indefinitely unless some of their wishes for the station come true.

After nine years, what seems to be the destiny of educational television?

It is clear that educational television, in the years immediately ahead, is going to reach far more people than ever before. School use has been greatly increasing. The advent of the New York station will considerably increase the audience, and if Los Angeles too comes on the air with ETV, the national audience may be doubled in the course of a year or two. A number of other stations are in various stages of planning, and if there is a move toward the UHF band or a notable increase in the number of sets equipped to receive UHF, it is possible to envisage a large part of the population getting some service from educational television.

The real question is whether, by nature, educational television is condemned forever to program ratings of 1, to minority audiences heavily skewed toward high education and high social status, and to viewers who come purposefully to ETV for one program and then turn off the set.

It hardly needs pointing out that if a viewer of ETV could be induced to stay for two programs, rather than one, the station's audience would be doubled. This would require a very skillful kind of block programing. One strength of educational programing, of course, is that it is not necessary to program constantly in such a way as to maximize the audience; rather, it is desirable to program in such a way that the maximum number of different educational and cultural interests and needs in the audience are met in the course of a day or a week. To combine these two gambits -- to program in such a way as to meet a variety of needs and at the same time to appeal with consecutive programs to a viewer who has liked one program -- this is not easy, but not impossible. Furthermore, it should be possible to gain some viewer time by better promotion. Only about one-sixth of all the viewers of these stations said that they got their chief information about programs from the station's program guide. If this number could be increased, and if the station itself could be used to better advantage to promote its future programs, then it is reasonable to think that more viewers would find out about programs they would not want to miss.

So much for present viewers. Can the station be made attractive to a broader spectrum of users? Is there any reason why a university station or a state network should attract only 9 or 10 per cent of the adults in its community as regular viewers? Why a school board station should attract only 13 per cent? And is the 24 per cent attracted as regular viewers by Eastbury and Westville about as many as ETV can hope for?

Certainly the 24 per cent is a very respectable figure. But there are signs that even it may not be a maximum. We know that the audience of Westville has increased in the last few years, and this can be attributed in no small degree to "wide-band" programs like "Open End", which attract wide segments of the social spectrum. The destiny of educational television will depend in part on whether it can develop more such programs with intellectual challenge and broad appeal (like "Open End") in addition to other programs of undoubted excellence but more specialized appeal (like "Casals Master Class").

A useful result of this study was the finding that, even amongst educational programs, there is a great difference in the kinds of people attracted to a given program. A program like "Ragtime Era", for example, would attract viewers many of whom would be unlikely to view "Open End" or "Heritage". A program like "The World of Music" had a much larger part of its appeal among the less-educated groups than did a program like "The Greeks Had a Word for It". The more we know about the kinds of people who select a particular kind of program, the easier it should become to devise and combine programs so as to appeal to different segments of the potential audience, and thus gradually to widen the station's coverage.

The import of this study is that, in nine years, educational television has won a beachhead. It has 63 stations, a central program service which operates like a network by mail, a small but loyal and important audience, and enough good programing to whet the appetites of the viewers who have seen it. This is a significant accomplishment. Now, does it rest with this, or does it go ahead? If it rests, the chances are that it will become inreasingly a channel for school broadcasts rather than for community broadcasts. If it goes ahead, then it must have more and better programing, and to have more and better programing it must have more adequate financing.

The struggle to buy equipment, to house the station, to meet the weekly payroll and keep the station on the air, has been so demanding that a lion's share of educational television's attention has had to go to it, rather than to the making and circulating of programs which are the only unique contribution of ETV. This has been the case both in community broadcasts and classroom broadcasts. For example, the great technical achievement of Airborne Television (MPATI) in laying down a signal over a radius of 200 miles from an airplane, has not been matched by any similar achievement in the making of classroom programs to be broadcast over this huge area. Here, as elsewhere, the basic technical demands have absorbed the money which might have gone into making programs. At the present time the National Educational Television and Radio Center is operating at an annual rate of about 3.5 million dollars, as compared to a commercial network expenditure of about 200 million. More money would enable NETRC to furnish more programs so that stations could upgrade the average quality of their community service and stay on the air longer. More money would enable NETRC to develop or hire more talent for such programs, and to rent live lines to serve the stations for at least part of the day, so that the network could cover timely events and furnish up-to-date public affairs programs. More money would enable the educational stations to function as a fourth network, rather than as a loose federation of stations sharing some of their programs through video-tape and the U.S. Post Office.

Therefore, the most easily visible sign as to the destiny of educational television will be the amount of financing it is able to put behind its programing in the next five years. But this is not the only determinant.

Over and beyond the question of what can be financed is the question of what skill, imagination, and talent can be found. Admittedly, proper financing will make those qualities easier to find. But we have said that educational television is a different medium from any other. Many able people in commercial television, in the printed media, in films, in education, have great skills that would be highly useful and usable on ETV. But ultimately ETV must provide its own talent, itw own writers, its own producers, skilled in and concerned with the unique task of ETV. Films, radio, commercial television each emerged in full strength and unique qualities only when the first great directors, writers, and performers emerged. It will be so with educational television. Its destiny will ride on its programing, and its programing will ride on its financing. But just as financing will make it easier to find and develop talent for distinguished programs, so will an infusion of talent, skill, and imagination make it easier to obtain financing. This is the destiny that beckons to educational television if it can muster the strength to go beyond its beachhead.

APPENDIX A

NONCOMMERCIAL TELEVISION STATIONS ON THE AIR, MAY, 1962

Alabama

WBIQ, Birmingham, channel 10
WCIQ, Munford, channel 7
WDIQ, Dozier, channel 2
Alabama Educational Television Commission

Arizona

KAET, Tempe, Arizona State University, channel 8
KUAT, Tuscon, University of Arizona, channel 6

California

KVIE, Sacramento, Central California Educational Television, Inc., channel 6
KQED, San Francisco, Bay Area Educational Television Association, channel 9

Colorado

KRMA-TV, Denver, Denver Public Schools, channel 6

District of Columbia

WETA-TV, Washington, Greater Washington Educational Television Association, Inc., channel 26

Florida

WUFT, Gainesville, University of Florida, channel 5
WJCT, Jacksonville, Community Television, Inc., channel 7
WTHS-TV, Miami, Dade County Board of Public Instruction, channel 2
WFSU-TV, Tallahassee, Florida State University, channel 11
WEDU, Tampa, Florida West Coast Educational Television, Inc., channel 3

Georgia

WGTV, Athens, University of Georgia (Center for Continuing Education), channel 8
WETV, Atlanta, Board of Education of the City of Atlanta, channel 30
WXGA-TV, Waycross, Georgia State Board of Education, channel 8

Illinois

WSIU-TV, Carbondale, Southern Illinois University, channel 8
WTTW, Chicago, Chicago Educational Television Association, channel 11
WILL-TV, Urbana, University of Illinois, channel 12

Iowa

KDPS-TV, Des Moines, Des Moines Independent Community School District, channel 11

Kentucky

WFPK-TV, Louisville, Louisville Free Public Library, channel 15

Louisiana

KLSE, Monroe, State Department of Education, channel 13
WYES-TV, The Greater New Orleans ETV Foundation, channel 8

Maine

WCBB, Augusta, Colby, Bates, Bowdoin Educational Telecasting Corporation, channel 10

Massachusetts

WGBH-TV, Boston, WGBH Educational Foundation, channel 2

Michigan

WTVS, Detroit, Detroit Educational Television Foundation, channel 56
WMSB, East Lansing, Michigan State University, channel 10

Minnesota

KTCA-TV, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Twin City Area Educational Television Corporation, channel 2

Missouri

KCSD-TV, Kansas City, School District of Kansas City, channel 19
KETA, St. Louis, St. Louis Educational Television Commission, channel 9

Nebraska

KUON-TV, Lincoln, University of Nebraska, channel 12

New Hampshire

WENH-TV, Durham, University of New Hampshire, channel 11

New Mexico

KNME-TV, Albuquerque, University of New Mexico and Albuquerque Board of Education, channel 5

New York

WNED-TV, Buffalo, Western New York Educational Television Association, Inc., channel 17

North Carolina

WUNC-TV, Chapel Hill, Consolidated University of North Carolina, channel 4

Ohio

WCET, Cincinnati, Greater Cincinnati Television Educational Foundation, channel 48
WOSU, Columbus, Ohio State University, channel 34
WMUB-TV, Oxford, Miami University, channel 14
WGTE-TV, Toledo, The Greater Toledo Educational Television Foundation, channel 30

Oklahoma

KETA-TV, Oklahoma City, statutory corporation established by Oklahoma State Legislature, channel 13
KOKH-TV, Oklahoma City, Independent School District No. 89 of Oklahoma County, channel 25
KOED-TV, Tulsa, statutory corporation established by Oklahoma State Legislature, channel 11

Oregon

KOAC-TV, Corvallis, State Board of Higher Education, channel 7
KOAP-TV, Portland, State Board of Higher Education, channel 10

Pennsylvania

WHYY-TV, Philadelphia, nonprofit corporation composed of educational, cultural, and public service interests in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware area surrounding Philadelphia, channel 35
WQED, channel 13, Pittsburgh
WQEX, channel 16, Pittsburgh
Metropolitan Pittsburgh Educational Television Station

Puerto Rico

WIPM-TV, Mayaguez, Department of Education of Puerto Rico, channel 3
WIPR-TV, San Juan, Department of Education of Puerto Rico, channel 6

South Dakota

KUSD-TV, Vermillion, University of South Dakota, channel 2

Tennessee

WKNO-TV, Memphis, Memphis Community Television Foundation, channel 10

Texas

KERA-TV, Dallas, Area Educational Television Foundation, channel 13
KUHT, Houston, University of Houston, channel 8
KRET-TV, Richardson, Richardson Independent School District, channel 23

Utah

KWCS-TV, Ogden, Weber County School District, channel 18
KUED-TV, Salt Lake City, University of Utah, channel 7

Virginia

WHRO-TV, Norfolk, Hampton Roads Educational Television Association, channel 15

Washington

KEPC-TV, Lakewood Center, Clover Park School District No. 400, channel 56
KCTS-TV, Seattle, University of Washington, channel 9
KTPS-TV, Tacoma, Tacoma School District No. 10, channel 62

Wisconsin

WHA-TV, Madison, University of Wisconsin, channel 21
WMVS-TV, Milwaukee, Board of Vocational and Adult Education, channel 10

APPENDIX B

ADDITIONAL TABLES FOR REFERENCE

Table 1

THE SAMPLES

	East-bury	West-ville	Middlewest State	Eastern U.	School-town	Dixie Network
TELEPHONE CALLS COMPLETED WITH OWNERS OF TV SETS*	1749	4187	3290	1988	3280	4773
Regular Viewers	419	1004	310	50		501
Occasional Viewers	698	1574	1217	217	1053	1365
Non-viewers	632	1609	1763	1721	1781	2907
DETAILED INTERVIEWS COMPLETED BY TELEPHONE (sub-sample of total calls completed)	1587	998	1607	476	1841	2932
Regular Viewers						
Men	136	228	121	17	144	153
Women	200	317	238	29	292	307
Total	336	545	359	46	436	460
Occasional Viewers						
Men	285	49	354	86	361	544
Women	403	44	441	121	683	801
Total	688	93	795	207	1044	1345
Non-viewers						
Men	198	148	191	86	130	414
Women	365	212	262	137	231	713
Total	563	360	453	223	361	1127
HOME INTERVIEWS COMPLETED (sub-sample of telephone interviews)	258	246	306	209	178	414
Regular Viewers						
Men	40	86	sex break		26	78
Women	53	92	not available		28	251
Total	93	178	218	40	54	329

Table 1 (page 2)

	East-bury	West-ville	Middlewest State	Eastern U.	School-town	Dixie Network
Occasional Viewers						
Men	41			sex break	35	
Women	45			not available	69	
Total	86			145	104	
Non-Viewers						
Men	32	35			9	22
Women	47	33			11	63
Total	79	68	88	24	20	85

* More than 30,000 calls had to be made in order to complete these 19,267 interviews. The majority of the additional calls were no answers or busy signals; two callbacks was the rule adopted in such cases. A few persons were non-cooperative. Between 5 and 10 per cent reported they did not have television sets.

Table 2

Basic Figures on ETV Audiences

	Regular Viewers		Occasional Viewers		Non-viewers	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Median estimated "average weekly watching of ETV"						
EASTBURY	1:13	1:59	:43	:39		
WESTVILLE	1:49	1:73	:34	:39		
MIDDLEWEST STATE	1:39	1:39	:28	:24		
EASTERN U.	2:59	3:15	:34	:37		
SCHOOLTOWN						
DIXIE NETWORK	1:07	1:20	:20	:21		
Median age						
EASTBURY	49	44	46	45	44	44
WESTVILLE	41	44	43	43	49	46
MIDDLEWEST STATE	41.5	44.4	40.1	43.6	42.2	40.4
EASTERN U.	45	39	47	43	40	41
SCHOOLTOWN	42	41	44	39	43	38
DIXIE NETWORK	41	45	44	45	49	45
Per cent who have less than high school diploma						
EASTBURY	45.3	24.6	30.1	35.0	41.2	42.0
WESTVILLE	10.5	6.3	10.2	18.2	36.4	28.3
MIDDLEWEST STATE	11.5	11.4	18.0	15.0	22.0	22.9
EASTERN U.	11.8		15.1	11.7	24.4	27.0
SCHOOLTOWN	15.3	12.7	22.7	19.8	33.1	31.1
DIXIE NETWORK	19.0	14.7	38.9	40.5	52.4	56.2
Per cent who have some college education						
EASTBURY	22.1	37.3	35.3	20.5	24.0	12.7
WESTVILLE	63.6	63.7	44.9	40.9	28.3	20.2
MIDDLEWEST STATE	65.3	58.0	50.2	45.4	38.2	27.0
EASTERN U.	70.5	55.2	48.7	50.4	32.7	27.7
SCHOOLTOWN	52.8	49.6	41.2	36.2	20.0	20.3
DIXIE NETWORK	49.6	60.8	31.9	26.0	16.0	13.5
Per cent having no children						
EASTBURY	52.3	44.0	46.6	48.5	45.6	51.3
WESTVILLE	38.1	45.4	40.8	38.6	45.3	53.8
MIDDLEWEST STATE	31.4	44.1	35.6	46.0	43.5	44.7
EASTERN U.	47.1	41.5	37.2	40.6	37.2	36.4
SCHOOLTOWN	36.1	29.1	39.0	34.6	34.6	37.2
DIXIE NETWORK	35.3	37.1	36.7	41.0	47.8	45.4

Table 2 (page 2)

	Regular Viewers		Occasional Viewers		Non-viewers	
	Male	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
Mean number of children						
EASTBURY	1.1	1.4	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.1
WESTVILLE	1.5	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.1	.8
MIDDLEWEST STATE	1.8	1.5	1.6	1.5	1.4	1.4
EASTERN U.	1.2	1.4	1.6	1.6	1.3	1.4
SCHOOLTOWN	1.5	1.7	1.2	1.4	1.3	1.3
DIXIE NETWORK	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.0	1.1
Per cent having pre-school age children						
EASTBURY	16.3	24.0	17.3	19.1	22.9	25.2
WESTVILLE	29.4	24.0	24.5	29.5	14.2	15.6
MIDDLEWEST STATE	51.2	45.9	45.6	42.4	55.6	51.7
EASTERN U.	5.9	24.1	33.7	24.0	25.6	23.4
SCHOOLTOWN	25.7	29.8	24.9	27.5	23.8	32.9
DIXIE NETWORK	30.1	27.7	26.2	24.6	19.9	19.4
Per cent having elementary school age children						
EASTBURY	19.8	30.7	26.6	25.2	27.4	22.9
WESTVILLE	29.4	27.8	26.5	20.4	25.0	21.2
MIDDLEWEST STATE	43.9	49.6	44.3	47.0	36.1	42.8
EASTERN U.	23.5	27.6	25.6	33.1	23.2	29.9
SCHOOLTOWN	36.1	35.3	27.7	31.5	26.9	23.4
DIXIE NETWORK	37.9	30.3	25.4	27.4	21.5	23.9
Per cent having junior high school age children						
EASTBURY	22.1	18.7	14.2	16.1	19.4	16.7
WESTVILLE	17.5	13.2	14.3	15.9	14.2	8.0
MIDDLEWEST STATE	31.7	33.1	29.4	31.5	23.1	23.4
EASTERN U.	11.8	13.8	9.3	16.5	10.5	16.1
SCHOOLTOWN	20.1	23.2	16.9	16.1	12.3	10.8
DIXIE NETWORK	19.6	16.0	20.0	20.5	19.6	20.1
Per cent having high school age children						
EASTBURY	18.7	17.3	17.0	13.5	12.0	10.5
WESTVILLE	11.7	12.0	14.3	9.1	14.2	10.4
MIDDLEWEST STATE	20.8	20.3	26.3	26.0	18.5	21.4
EASTERN U.	11.8	13.8	5.8	14.9	11.6	12.4
SCHOOLTOWN	11.8	13.0	11.9	13.9	13.1	9.5
DIXIE NETWORK	11.8	19.5	17.6	18.1	10.4	15.9

Table 2 (page 3)

	Regular Viewers		Occasional Viewers		Non-viewers	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Children watch ETV						
EASTBURY	22.1	25.3	15.9	24.7		
WESTVILLE	27.6	31.5	26.5	20.4		
MIDDLEWEST STATE	22.3	25.6	18.4	17.0		
EASTERN U.	29.2	41.4	26.9	31.4		
SCHOOLTOWN	42.4	47.2	27.4	33.7		
DIXIE NETWORK	39.9	41.7	29.1	37.8		
Spouse watches ETV						
EASTBURY	29.1	20.0	26.0	12.3		
WESTVILLE	61.5	40.7	46.9	27.3		
MIDDLEWEST STATE	55.4	40.3	36.1	22.4		
EASTERN U.	64.6	68.9	43.0	47.1		
SCHOOLTOWN	50.7	40.4	41.6	22.2		
DIXIE NETWORK	47.0	23.4	35.8	18.1		
No one else in household watches ETV						
EASTBURY	36.0	31.3	41.9	49.9		
WESTVILLE	19.7	29.0	30.6	47.7		
MIDDLEWEST STATE	21.5	25.6	31.9	42.4		
EASTERN U.	17.6	10.3	32.6	26.4		
SCHOOLTOWN	15.3	25.0	32.4	42.4		
DIXIE NETWORK	22.2	29.0	36.8	41.3		
Median number of books read "since last summer"						
EASTBURY	2.3	3.8	2.5	.6	.4	0
WESTVILLE	5.6	9+	3.6	4.5	2.0	2.3
MIDDLEWEST STATE	5.7	4.4	2.5	2.6	1.7	1.3
EASTERN U.	5.0	9+	3.1	4.7	2.1	2.0
SCHOOLTOWN	2.9	3.9	2.3	2.7	.4	.4
DIXIE NETWORK	5.1	3.8	1.7	1.6	0	0
Median number of magazines "read regularly"						
EASTBURY	2.3	2.7	2.1	1.8	1.7	1.5
WESTVILLE	3.3	3.2	2.9	2.6	.6	.9
MIDDLEWEST STATE	4.0	3.9	2.9	3.4	2.6	2.6
EASTERN U.	5.0	4.3	3.2	3.8	2.3	2.9
SCHOOLTOWN	3.1	3.1	2.8	2.8	1.9	1.6
DIXIE NETWORK	3.5	3.3	2.3	2.5	1.6	1.5

Table 2 (page 4)

	Regular Viewers		Occasional Viewers		Non-viewers	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Per cent who have attended concerts, etc.						
EASTBURY	9.3	30.0	11.8	12.3	7.4	9.2
WESTVILLE	27.6	30.9	20.4	20.5	13.5	10.4
MIDDLEWEST STATE	28.1	34.5	17.2	22.4	8.9	9.9
EASTERN U.	47.1	27.6	23.2	29.8	8.3	8.8
SCHOOLTOWN	20.1	25.0	15.5	19.2	6.2	8.2
DIXIE NETWORK	17.6	20.2	13.3	12.2	7.7	10.5
Per cent who have attended lectures						
EASTBURY	12.8	19.3	17.3	11.9	9.7	4.8
WESTVILLE	33.8	32.8	22.5	18.2	15.5	12.3
MIDDLEWEST STATE	41.3	26.9	18.4	16.3	13.1	8.8
EASTERN U.	47.1	24.1	17.4	24.8	7.0	15.3
SCHOOLTOWN	22.9	19.9	14.9	10.2	2.3	7.4
DIXIE NETWORK	34.0	25.7	20.9	13.3	8.3	9.3
Per cent who have attended discussion group or evening course						
EASTBURY	11.6	24.7	13.4	11.3	12.0	7.6
WESTVILLE	28.5	30.9	16.4	27.3	10.8	9.9
MIDDLEWEST STATE	28.1	29.4	18.4	17.5	11.5	8.0
EASTERN U.	17.6	27.6	18.6	15.7	13.9	13.1
SCHOOLTOWN	22.2	20.2	13.8	13.0	10.8	9.5
DIXIE NETWORK	30.1	26.4	20.6	16.9	11.7	9.4
Per cent who have attended civic meetings						
EASTBURY	32.6	36.0	32.6	28.6	25.7	21.0
WESTVILLE	34.2	39.7	22.5	15.9	24.3	18.9
MIDDLEWEST STATE	39.7	43.7	28.0	28.8	21.5	18.7
EASTERN U.	47.1	55.3	32.5	46.3	31.4	32.8
SCHOOLTOWN	27.8	21.6	17.4	17.0	9.2	10.0
DIXIE NETWORK	56.2	49.8	40.2	41.8	33.8	32.2
Per cent of husbands having white collar jobs						
EASTBURY	15.1	11.1	21.4	16.4	16.6	9.2
WESTVILLE	43.8	34.7	32.6	18.2	18.3	12.7
MIDDLEWEST STATE	61.1	40.8	42.9	33.1	37.5	26.0
EASTERN U.	11.8	34.5	25.6	23.9	27.9	22.7
SCHOOLTOWN						
DIXIE NETWORK	33.0	25.7	19.9	19.2	12.8	10.6

Table 3

Relative Proportion of Different Age Groups Who Are Regular Viewers of ETV (Proportion of viewers in 20-29 age group taken as base for index)

	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+
Eastbury	100	141	133	118	154
Westville	100	110	101	85	90
Middlewest State	100	147	149	131	175
Eastern U.	100	92	117	85	116
Schooltown	100	151	161	146	161
Dixie Network	100	115	112	126	109

This table is based on the following n's:

Eastbury	249	355	407	299	279
Westville	136	230	259	178	155
Middlewest State	340	357	336	237	270
Eastern U.	108	141	125	71	83
Schooltown	346	498	377	257	281
Dixie Network	383	688	723	531	542

Table 4

Differential Use of Five Categories of ETV Programs in Four Cities

Program Type	% of total ETV time claimed	Westville		Middlewest State	Schooltown		Dixie Network
		Men	Women		Men	Women	
Formal educational programs (courses)	0%	57%	69%		70%	64%	27%
	50% plus	9	2		12	16	44
Practical aid programs	0%	14%	65%	44%	86%	68%	59%
	50% plus	4	1	25	9	19	8
Cultural programs (art, music, drama)	0%	42%	30%	30%	62%	70%	55%
	50% plus	15	22	35	8	6	14
Information, public affairs programs	0%	29%	40%	35%	34%	62%	71%
	50% plus	50	36	21	52	29	5
Children's programs (of all types)	0%	81%	79%	100%	88%	83%	78%
	50% plus	4	6	0	6	6	9

Table 5

Comparison of the Instruction, Cultural and Informational Sub-Audiences

WESTVILLE

		Audience:	
	Instruction (19)	Cultural (37)	Informational (85)
Comparative index of ETV time	107	110	100
Rationales for viewing ETV:			
Practical aid	40%	0%	21%
Keep better informed	45	62	64
Continue education	45	27	28
More satisfying than commc'l TV	55	51	52
Cultural programs	70	67	66
Something should do	15	8	8
Example for children	15		9
Intellectual stimulation	75	67	64
Fills cultural void	40	32	31
Age: Under 40	36%	46%	40%
40-49	21	22	32
50 and over	37	27	27
Have no children	47%	41%	38%
Highest educational level: high school only	26%	27%	29%
some college	42	49	39
B.A. degree	10	11	18
graduate work	21	14	11
"Quite" or "very interested" in:			
practical information	65%	32%	44%
the arts	55	67	51
public issues	75	76	88
serious music	60	65	59
general knowledge	80	67	66
Attend:			
concerts/plays	53%	38%	35%
lectures	63	32	36
discussion groups/courses	42	27	28
civic affairs meetings	32	60	39

Table 6

WESTVILLE

Proportion of those interested citing channels as being of real help

	Intensely, or very interested	Paper	Mags	Radio	Cmcl TV	ETV	Other	(n)
PRACTICAL INFORMATION								
M Viewers	37%	33%	66%	17%	9%	33%	6%	32
F Viewers	50	59	67	6	22	30	9	46
M Nonviewers	37	46	69	15	15	8		13
F Nonviewers	33	50	46	12	19	12		26
ART, LITERATURE, POETRY								
M Viewers	34	10	38	17	17	69	21	29
F Viewers	60	16	54	6	6-	47	33	55
PUBLIC ISSUES								
M Viewers	86	50	34	22	61	35	1	75
F Viewers	85	83	35	20	53	39	1	78
M Nonviewers	77	74	19	15	22			27
F Nonviewers	82	[illegible]	4	15	52		4	27
SERIOUS MUSIC								
M Viewers	43	5	5	68	27	43	24	37
F Viewers	60	4	6	66	24	40	27	55
GENERAL KNOWLEDGE								
M Viewers	63	37	52	15	24	48	22	54
F Viewers	59	48	52	13	33	43	24	54
M Nonviewers	46	25	38	19	19		6	16
F Nonviewers	42	43	36		36	15	15	14

Table 7

MIDDLEWEST STATE

Proportion of those interested citing channels as being of real help

	Intensely, or very interested	Paper	Mags	Radio	Cmcl TV	ETV	Other	(n)
PRACTICAL INFORMATION								
Viewers	51%	34%	47%	9%	15%	18%	2%	111
Nonviewers	35	45	48	2	39	3		31
ART, LITERATURE, POETRY								
Viewers	36	5	44	3	6	38	31	78
Nonviewers	21	5	50	5	15		45	20
PUBLIC ISSUES								
Viewers	86	59	18	19	61	10	1	187
Nonviewers	76	57	15	13	63	1		67
SERIOUS MUSIC								
Viewers	46		1	44	25	39	29	101
Nonviewers	22			63	16	10	37	19
GENERAL KNOWLEDGE								
Viewers	41	33	34	3	30	33	20	90
Nonviewers	18	44	31		19		19	16

Table 8

EASTERN U.

Proportion of those interested citing channels as a real help

	Intensely, or very interested	Paper	Mags	Radio	Cmcl TV	ETV	Other	(n)
PRACTICAL INFORMATION								
Reg Viewers	50%	40%	65%	15%	5%	30%		20
Occ Viewers	44	41	53	11	23	16	6	64
ART, LITERATURE, POETRY								
Reg Viewers	30	8	58	17	8	33	17	12
Occ Viewers	23	19	51	7	7	30	21	43
PUBLIC ISSUES								
Reg Viewers	[illegible]	67	31	13	59	18		39
Occ Viewers	86	66	23	22	56	10	1	125
Nonviewers	75	39	17	11	78			18
SERIOUS MUSIC								
Reg Viewers	35			50	14	43	7	14
Occ Viewers	38	2		64	34	33	18	55
GENERAL KNOWLEDGE								
Reg Viewers	55	23	32	18	23	41	18	22
Occ Viewers	46	48	39	12	41	21	17	66

Table 9

Five major response categories to question: "What would you say are the main reasons why you watch station ____ when you do so?"

	Educational value	Specific programs	Relief from CTV	Entertainment	Meets Personal Interest
Dixie Network					
Men	37%	17%	13%	14%	11%
Women	30	14	16	12	4
Middlewest State					
Men & Women	19%	18%	18%	22%	10%
Schooltown					
Men	32%	32%	20%	8%	16%
Women	42	19	8	19	19

Table 10

Proportions of viewers in high and low socio-economic groups citing each of the nine rationales

	Eastern U.		Eastbury		Westville		Schooltown	
	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High
	SES		SES		SES		SES	
practical aid	20%	9%	27%	15%	24%	24%	12%	39%
to be informed	70	65	46	80	42	61	33	51
continue education	30	26	27	30	24	20	25	26
more satisfying	40	35	41	25	24	52	33	26
cultural programs	50	68	36	70	40	78	25	67
should do	20	3	5	20	12	6	42	13
children	20	6	41	15	10	13	42	20
intell. stimulation	70	50	27	63	36	65	42	75
cultural void	10	21	14	20	32	26	50	28

Table 11

Correlation Matrix for the Nine Rationales

Values in the matrix are phi
coefficients based on an N of 1247

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Practical aid		.10	.22	.07	.07	.21	.16	.09	.04
2. To keep better informed	.10		.27	.16	.28	.16	.12	.23	.19
3. To continue my education	.22	.27		.10	.17	.15	.15	.20	.26
4. More satisfying than CTV	.07	.16	.10		.28	.09	.15	.33	.30
5. Cultural programs	.07	.28	.17	.28		.05	.13	.37	.25
6. Something I should do	.21	.16	.15	.09	.05		.17	.14	.17
7. Example for children	.16	.12	.15	.15	.13	.17		.09	.18
8. Intellectual stimulation	.09	.23	.20	.33	.37	.14	.09		.31
9. Fills cultural void	.04	.19	.26	.30	.25	.17	.18	.31	

Table 12

Percentage Citing Individual Rationales as Being Especially Well Fulfilled by Their Local ETV Station

		Practical Aid	To be Better Informed	Help Continue Education	More Satisfying Than CTV	Providing Cultural Programs	Example For Children	Intel. Stimulation	Filling Cultural Void	None
Eastbury	men	10%	25%	28%	15%	38%	12%	15%	10%	23%
	women	13	34	30	11	45	23	32	26	21
Westville	men	9	22	13	10	37	9	36	14	16
	women	20	28	32	18	41	13	44	23	11
Middlewest State		9	18	21	8	40	9	23	17	16
Eastern U.		18	25	32	15	50	5	38	15	14
Schooltown	men	43	35	24	13		20	33	18	11
	women	34	20	10	8		20	25	17	11
Dixie Network	men	17	27	31	10	28	17	12	4	12
	women	23	36	25	9	39	20	23	16	5

Table 13

Proportion of ETV Viewers and Non-Viewers Checking "Quite" or "Very" for Each Term in Describing Commercial Television

(ETV viewers on top, non-viewers below)

		Eastbury		Westville		Middlewest State	Eastern U.	Schooltown		Dixie Network	
		Men	Women	Men	Women			Men	Women	Men	Women
Interesting	ETV viewers	32	42	35	39	50	40	54	36	39	52
	Non-viewers	50	51	63	67	74	42	56	72	63	60
Fun		38	47	34	32	51	42	25	45	39	58
		34	42	66	64	63	38	72	60	58	52
Useful		35	30	19	20	39	35	24	20	27	48
		31	36	44	45	59	42	45	42	53	44
Hard Work		15	15	8	7	11	10	8	12	20	21
		28	32	17	12	8	12	4	12	26	26
Violent		45	40	71	60	57	52	52	47	49	48
		41	28	43	24	56	33	36	29	42	42
Satisfying		35	40	24	23	42	35	32	25	34	36
		34	55	42	61	65	33	64	50	47	52
Boring		15	23	27	24	15	12	20	12	8	10
		12	11	14	12	2	21	8	7	11	6
Annoying		8	23	38	33	19	25	20	14	3	13
		22	13	32	15	7	17	11	3	10	4
Informative		35	42	23	27	52	38	39	27	39	46
		41	32	28	58	70	47	48	47	47	46
Dull		12	11	28	20	13	10	13	10	5	9
		6	6	6	15	4	12	3		5	8
Brutal		35	43	57	56	47	45	47	40	34	42
		31	19	46	33	41	29	27	15	21	36

Table 14

Proportion of ETV Viewers and Non-Viewers
Checking "Quite" or "Very" for each of the Description
Terms in Describing the Local ETV Station

(ETV viewers on top, non-viewers below)

		Eastbury		Westville		Middlewest State	Eastern U.	Schooltown		Dixie Network	
		Men	Women	Men	Women			Men	Women	Men	Women
Interesting	Viewers	78%	70%	78%	89%	80%	80%	93%	82%	62%	76%
	Non-viewers	47	53	32	39	23	63	43	74		
Amateur		10	2	5	3	8	5	10	12	14	13
			4	6		8	4	8	14	21	18
Fun		38	28	45	41	32	28	57	47	29	33
		19	21		21	49	25	23	28	5	16
Useful		78	74	73	85	85	90	82	88	87	85
		53	55	40	52	49	71	63	72	74	70
Hard Work		30	28	13	13	22	20	25	13	40	49
		31	21	26	12	18	13	22	26	53	36
Violent					1	3		12		1	6
				3		1		0	3	5	2
Snobbish		2		2	2	3		6		5	5
			2	6	3	5		1	3	11	4
Satisfying		58	70	79	87	78	80	88	84	46	61
		34	45	23	36	31	54	48	53	32	48
Boring				1	1	2		6		3	3
			2	9	3	5		1	8	5	6
Annoying			2		1	2	5		1	1	8
			4	6		6		1	9	11	0
Informative		75	81	84	93	93	95	95	95	90	85
		50	51	40	55	58	67	73	74	74	74

Table 14 (page 2)

	Eastbury		Westville		Middlewest State	Eastern U.	Schooltown		Dixie Network	
	Men	Women	Men	Women			Men	Women	Men	Women
Dull			1	2	5		4	3	9	8
			6	6	3		1	8	11	8
Brutal				1	2		5		3	5
					1		1	3	5	2

Table 15

Educational Level Specified as Needed to Enjoy Programs on ETV Channel

		some college	high school	elementary only	doesn't matter	don't know
Eastbury	men	5%	42%	12%	30%	11%
	women	4	24	15	34	23
Westville	men	6	54	9	21	10
	women	4	51	9	20	16
Middlewest State		15	53	13	13	6
Eastern U.		25	57	5	5	8
Dixie Network	men	5	32	19	31	13
	women	6	40	14	32	8

Table 16

SES Level Specified as Target Audience of ETV Channel

		Upper class	Upper & Middle class	Middle class	Middle & Lower class	Lower class	Every-body	Don't know
Eastbury	men	5%	12%	12%	2%	5%	45%	19%
	women	2	9	23	0	9	38	19
Westville	men	5	21	35	1	0	16	22
	women	6	21	22	1	0	35	15
Middlewest State		8	22	21	2	2	35	10
Eastern U.		12	45	10	0	0	25	8
Dixie Network	men	0	17	33	4	1	37	8
	women	4	13	26	3	1	45	8

Table 17

Rating of Level of ETV Programs by Viewers

Rate ETV as	Eastbury		Westville		Middlewest State	Eastern U.	Dixie Network	
	Men	Women	Men	Women			Men	Women
Too hard	12%	6%	2%	2%	8%	5%	19%	12%
About right	75	68	79	85	88	82	72	77
Too easy	5	4	2	1	1	2	1	1

Table 18

Educational Level of ETV Programs according to Viewers

Need	Eastbury		Westville		Middlewest State	Eastern U.	Dixie Network	
	Men	Women	Men	Women			Men	Women
Some college	5%	4%	6%	4%	15%	25%	5%	6%
At least high school	42	24	54	51	53	57	32	40
Only elementary	12	15	9	9	13	5	19	14
Doesn't matter	30	34	21	20	13	5	31	32

Table 19

Social Class Appeal of ETV according to Viewers

Aimed at	Eastbury		Westville		Middlewest State	Eastern U.	Dixie Network	
	Men	Women	Men	Women			Men	Women
Upper class	5%	2%	5%	6%	8%	12%	0%	4%
Upper and middle	12	9	21	21	22	45	17	13
Middle class	12	23	35	22	21	10	33	26
Middle and lower	2	0	1	1	2	0	4	3
Lower class	5	9	0	0	2	0	1	1
Everybody	45	38	16	35	35	25	37	45

Table 20

Most frequently suggested changes to be made in local ETV station operation

		Add certain programs	Add certain courses	Make easier, less stuffy	Schedule changes	No change
Westville	Men	9%	6%	9%	3%	48%
	Women	20	4	10	2	39
Middlewest State		32%	2%	8%	5%	42%
Schooltown	Men	24%	12%	4%	0%	44%
	Women	19	4	8	15	44
Dixie Network	Men	16%	7%	16%	7%	35%
	Women	16	4	7	5.	53

Table 21

Comparative proportions of viewers and non-viewers of ETV citing specified complaints about commercial television

	Reduce Commc'ls	Reduce Violence	Improve Quality	More Info Shows
Eastbury				
Men viewers	53%	48%	52%	35%
Men non-viewers	31	13	28	22
Women viewers	40	36	45	23
Women non-viewers	51	28	19	13
Westville				
Men viewers	38	14	23	5
Men non-viewers	23	17	28	0
Women viewers	32	26	14	14
Women non-viewers	24	12	12	0
Middlewest State				
Viewers	36	29	23	10
Non-viewers	32	20	32	5
Eastern U.				
Viewers	53	18	22	25
Non-viewers	58	21	8	4
Schooltown				
Men viewers	35	58	23	35
Men non-viewers*	21	21	11	11
Women viewers	29	71	32	68
Women non-viewers	27	55	0	55
Dixie Network				
Men viewers	36	47	54	22
Men non-viewers	41	23	36	18
Women viewers	38	50	55	14
Women non-viewers	33	49	49	12